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REVIEWS AND APPRECIATIONS

LEONARDO DA VINCI
ARTIST, THINKER & MAN OF SCIENCE

BY

EUGÈNE MUNTZ

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**THE CARTOON OF "ST. ANNE"
BY LEONARDO DA VINCI**

ROYAL ACADEMY, LONDON

HANFSTÄGL, PHOTO

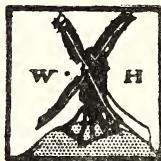
REVIEWS AND APPRECIATIONS

OF SOME OLD ITALIAN MASTERS

By HERBERT COOK

M.A. F.S.A.

HON. MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF MILAN



LONDON

WILLIAM HEINEMANN
1912

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PREFACE

THE appalling extent to which periodical literature dealing with Art Criticism on the Old Italian Masters has grown in the last ten years or so must be my chief excuse for reprinting certain articles of my own in more pretentious form. Every European country from Spain to Finland now produces excellent writers, with whose special views it behoves the unfortunate student who would be up-to-date to be familiar, so that to discover what this or that critic has published on a given point is much weariness of the flesh.

I do not flatter myself that many English readers have hunted through the back pages of the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* for my account of the Leonardo Cartoon in the Diploma Gällery at Burlington House ; indeed what I published fifteen years ago is probably quite unknown to them. But as it still remains the only serious attempt to deal fully with one of England's greatest art treasures, I feel that an English appreciation may be welcome. And in view of the ever-increasing interest taken in Leonardo da Vinci I have thought well to reprint other and more recent articles about him that have appeared in the pages of the *Burlington Magazine*.

On the subject of Titian my disbelief in the popular legend of his having been well-nigh a centenarian finds growing support among Continental writers. I therefore reprint from the *Nineteenth Century* the evidence

there adduced in support of my contention, together with Dr. Georg Gronau's contrary views and my final reply, translated from the *Repertorium für Kunswissenschaft*. And to illustrate the value of fixing a date I reprint from the *Athenæum* a short criticism dealing with the complicated problem of the National Gallery "Ariosto," which I feel more than ever to be the joint work of Giorgione and Titian.

As to the identification of the two portraits by Titian, which forms the subject of the two following articles, I have the satisfaction of finding that the latest edition of the Dresden catalogue accepts my view, an official recognition which I naturally hope will be extended in time to the other portrait, that of Laura de' Dianti.

Special attention may be called to the illustration of Viscount Allendale's Giorgione, the recent exhibition of which at the Burlington Fine Arts Club has strengthened my conviction that we here have the masterpiece of Giorgione's early time. The free version of it made by Francesco Vecellio, Titian's brother, also confirms the celebrity of the original composition. I have hinted at, rather than worked out, the importance of Francesco Vecellio as an artist, more particularly as to his share in producing "Titians."

These and other points seem to me of some permanent interest to those who love and study the Old Italian Masters, and I venture therefore to present them in more accessible form than through the scattered pages of half a dozen European journals.

My best thanks are due to the Editors of the *Nineteenth Century*, the *Athenæum*, the *Gazette des*

Beaux Arts, the *Repertorium für Kunsthissenschaft*, and especially the *Burlington Magazine*, for kind permission to reprint their articles. A few necessary corrections and additions have been made in footnotes.

I am indebted to the Arundel Club for permission to use their negative of the Allendale Giorgione, and to Messrs. Duveen Bros. for kindly supplying me with a photograph of the portrait by Francia, which is the more valuable as the picture itself has now gone to America.

HERBERT COOK

ESHER, 1912

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NOTES ON LEONARDO DA VINCI

I. THE ROYAL ACADEMY CARTOON¹

SINCE the days when Dr. Waagen over fifty years ago made his celebrated art-pilgrimage through Great Britain much has happened to make the result of his investigations a record less of permanent value than of temporary interest. Time has wrought many changes; old collections have been broken up, new ones have been formed; much that was held of little account in those days is now highly prized, whilst on the other hand the relentless hammer of the auction-room has condemned many a fancied treasure to an ignoble fate.

But amid all these fluctuations one thing remains the same. Great Britain is still an almost inexhaustible store-house of fine works of art. Few people are aware of the yet unexplored resources of the country, of the fine things hidden away in many an English home, treasures that even the very owners sometimes know little of, inherited as they have been from past generations, and not infrequently relegated to an attic forgotten and uncared for. The great historic galleries indeed are well known, but there are numerous smaller collections of which the public know little or nothing.

The yearly winter exhibitions at the Royal Academy have done much to bring these hidden treasures to light; so also have the recent exhibitions of Early

¹ Translated from the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1897, where this article appeared as the first of a series on "Les Trésors de l'art italien en Angleterre."

Italian, of Venetian and of Spanish Art at the New Gallery ; unfortunately in many of these cases care has not been exercised in the selection of the exhibits whereby only the finer things might have been shown. Too much that is third-rate has been flaunting itself before the public gaze, and it is sometimes asserted by way of explanation that the supply of great Italian masterpieces is at length giving out. We are only too conscious, alas, of the loss which England has sustained by the breaking-up of many a great collection, and by the recent emigration of such masterpieces as the Titian from Cobham Hall, the Rembrandt of Lord Ashburnham, and in a scarcely less degree the Raphael from the Victoria and Albert Museum, Mr. Willett's Ghirlandajo from the National Gallery, the Botticelli of Lord Ashburnham, and the Albert Dürers now at Berlin.¹ But let us recollect that a great series of Venetian pictures is still at Alnwick, and that Bridgewater House alone possesses five glorious works of Titian none of which have left their resting-place during the present generation, and to the majority of lovers of fine things are practically unknown. And without continuing the list of *inedita* which the writer hopes to lay before the readers of the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* from time to time, let us recollect the collections at Panshanger, at Gosford, at Dorchester House, at Hertford House, and the many fine Italian pictures in the more recently formed collections now belonging to Sir Frederick Cook, to Mr. Robert Benson and to Mrs. Ludwig Mond.

But other changes have come about since Waagen's day. The methods of criticism of fifty years ago are no longer those of to-day. A recent writer in the

¹ It would be easy, alas, to supplement this list since these words were written. Presumably the Raphael referred to will, as the property of Mr. Pierpont Morgan, also emigrate to America.

Quarterly Review refers to the New Art-Criticism in the following terms : "The new science is still young, but it has already outlived the first stage of ridicule and opposition, and is every day giving some fresh proof of its vitality. Morelli is generally recognised as the Darwin of this new branch of evolutionary science, and the knowledge of his writings is held indispensable to the systematic study of Italian painting. In France and Germany, in Italy and even in America his followers are engaged in applying his methods to individual masters, and are working out his theories in a variety of different directions. On every side old mistakes are rectified and new facts collected, and a store of valuable information is being garnered up for future use." And as evidence of the progress being made in this direction in England the writer goes on to enumerate such various writings as Miss Ffoulkes's translation of Morelli's books, the periodical contributions of Dr. Richter, of Sir Claude Phillips, of "Mary Logan," and, most important of all, the publications of Mr. Bernhard Berenson.

Among the agencies not only for promoting an increased familiarity with the art-treasures in private hands, but for encouraging a sound and scientific connoisseurship, none have been more effective than the Burlington Fine Arts Club, whose exhibitions for many years past have been marked by a consistently high level of attainment. Here, as nowhere else in London, exhibitions have been organised and reviewed on critical principles, and permanent advantage has accrued to all interested in the serious study of art by the publication of illustrated catalogues compiled by the several specialists in the various subjects treated of. Nor has the energy of the committee been confined to the holding of these exhibitions. Quite recently, for example, the committee of this enterprising club has

asked the consent of the President and Council of the Royal Academy to photograph the great Cartoon by Leonardo da Vinci hanging in the Diploma Gallery at Burlington House. This request was courteously granted, and we are now enabled, by consent of the authorities in question, to give a reproduction of this superb cartoon to the readers of the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*.¹

Frontispiece

THE CARTOON OF ST. ANNE

It may appear strange to some that so remarkable a work of art is not more widely known. But to those acquainted with the ways of mankind in relation to art, it is no surprise that even the greatest masterpieces remain unnoticed. Since 1791, when the cartoon is first found in the possession of the Royal Academy, but scant notice has been taken of it. During the first half of the century it is barely mentioned, much less extolled, by the numerous writers on art. How is it that Amoretti, or Brown in his "Life of Leonardo," does not even mention it? Neither does Ottley in his "Italian School of Design," nor does Lanzi. Passavant (1833) and Waagen (1839), however, allude to it, but our own Royal Academicians, with the exception of Barry, seem to have been totally unconscious of their great possession. We will charitably explain this on the ground of the taste of the period.

Their descendants were well advised last winter² to

¹ An earlier photograph was taken in 1876, through the enterprise of Mr. Alfred Marks, who in 1882 read a paper on the subject of the Cartoon to the Royal Society of Literature. This was reprinted from the Society's Transactions; as we proceed we shall have occasion to refer to this publication in detail. The present (0.69 x 0.51) photograph by the well-known house Hanfstängl of Munich is a great improvement on the older one; copies can be procured only through a member of the Burlington Fine Arts Club.

² R.A. Old Masters Exhibition, 1896.

bring the cartoon out of its hiding-place in the Diploma Gallery and hang it in a conspicuous position in the Old Masters Exhibition. The recognition its beauties then received, not only at the hands of competent judges but from the popular verdict, entitled it to a wider appreciation and led to its publication in permanent photographic form by the Burlington Fine Arts Club. We could wish that the Royal Academy would follow the example of this private enterprise, and publish the version of the Last Supper by Giampetrino which hangs in the same gallery, a version which is of the greatest value as the nearest contemporary rendering extant of the world-renowned work by Leonardo, itself, alas, a mere ruin.¹

* * * *

Let us see first of all what is known of the history of the cartoon. And here we will assume once for all that this great work is incontestably by Leonardo da Vinci himself. This has never been questioned, but is universally admitted even by those who find it difficult to come to an agreement on the subject of the other works of the great Florentine. When so much is nowadays called in question, it is a relief that we need not stop to discuss the justice of an attribution upon which all are agreed. Granted then that Leonardo executed the cartoon, what is known of its history?

This matter and the further consideration of the relation which the Royal Academy Cartoon bears to the Louvre picture (which differs in composition) have been the subject of a special investigation by Mr. Alfred Marks, who has published his researches in a pamphlet.² To this writer we are indebted for the following information.

¹ Dr. Frizzoni and others agree in here recognising the hand of Giampetrino rather than that of Marco d'Oggiono, as usually alleged.

² See note antea.

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The first reference, it would seem, to the cartoon occurs in 1625, when Cardinal Borromeo, in describing a picture by Luini then in his possession, says that the composition of the picture was based on a cartoon of Leonardo. The Cardinal does not directly state that he had seen the latter, but he implies that he knew of its existence.¹ Fortunately the picture by Luini can be identified as that now hanging in the Ambrosiana at Milan, and we are thus able to confirm the Cardinal's statement, for Plate Luini has adopted the composition of Leonardo's Cartoon,¹ adding the figure of St. Joseph on his own account.²

The next account in point of date is that of Padre Resta, a distinguished connoisseur and collector in Milan, who writes to a friend that a Cartoon of St. Anne by Leonardo then existed in the Arconati family in Milan. The exact date of this letter is not given, but it cannot be later than 1696, the year in which Resta's correspondent died. This cartoon, says Resta, was executed by Leonardo before the year 1500 in Milan at the request of Louis XII. of France, to whom, however, it was not sent.³

Now is this cartoon the one now in the Royal Academy? Mr. Marks shows by a very conscientious examination of a mass of evidence that the Arconati Cartoon can be traced down to the Royal Academy, who acquired it eventually in or before 1791. Without giving the intricate details of an elaborate investigation we may summarise the history of the cartoon thus :

- (i) Resta's account, as above.
- (ii) Luini must have seen the cartoon probably still in Milan early in the sixteenth century,

¹ See Gori, "Symbolæ" Decas Secunda, vii. 122, 123.

² An admirable description of this picture has just (1912) appeared in the "Rassegna d'Arte" by Signor Achille Ratti.

³ See Bottari, "Raccolta di Lettere," iii. 326. Rome 1759; and in the translation by L. J. Jay, p. 465. Paris 1817.

PLATE I



HOLY FAMILY. BY LUINI
AMBROSIANA GALLERY, MILAN
ANDERSON, PHOTO

and copied it in the picture which once was Cardinal Borromeo's, and now is in the Ambrosiana.

- (iii) Pompeo Leoni, the sculptor and great collector in Milan, probably acquired it,¹ and on his death in 1610 it passed to
- (iv) Galeazzo Arconati, the celebrated benefactor to the Ambrosiana. It remained in his family upwards of a century, where it was seen and described by Resta (as we have already noted) shortly before 1696. It must have been therefore in the Arconati family when Cardinal Borromeo wrote in 1625.
- (v) In 1721 Edward Wright the traveller mentions it in the house of the Marquis Casnedi, who had recently purchased it from the Arconati family.²
- (vi) In 1749 it seems to have passed into the possession of the Sagredo family in Venice,³ and
- (vii) Before Christmas Day 1763 Robert Udny, whose brother John was British Consul in Venice, had bought it as well as the other drawings once in the Casnedi collection. The cartoon thus passes through the agency of the Udneys to London.⁴

¹ The grounds for this supposition are stated by Mr. Marks at length in the *Athenaeum*, February 23, 1878.

² "Some Observations made in Travelling through France and Italy," p. 471. It appears from this account of Wright's that the Arconati family had also possessed the cartoons for the Heads of the Apostles in the Cenacolo, and also the lost cartoon for the Leda. These had all passed by purchase into the Casnedi family just before 1721, where Wright saw them.

³ See a letter of Padre Monti, 1765, quoted by Pino in his "Storia Genuina del Cenacolo," 1796, p. 69. Cochin must have seen it here, though he does not specifically name it. "Voyage d'Italie," p. 146.

⁴ See Pino, *op. cit.*, and Charles Rogers, "A Collection of Prints in Imitation of Drawings," vol. i. pp. 3-9.

(viii) It is found in the possession of the Royal Academy in 1791. There is no exact record of how it passed from Udny to them, but from the wording of a Minute of the Council signed by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and dated March 23, 1791, we infer that the cartoon had been in their possession already some little time.¹

It will be seen from this pedigree that the history of the cartoon rests upon somewhat uncertain evidence, but, failing complete proof, we must accept the statement of Resta in this particular. His version, as we shall see, is quite consistent with facts that we shall deal with when we come to discuss the relation which the cartoon bears to the Louvre picture. The strangest gap in this long period of four centuries is the thirty years immediately preceding 1791; it is surely not too much to hope that some reliable document may be forthcoming to show how the transfer to the Royal Academy was effected.²

* * * *

Let us now turn to the cartoon itself. It measures four feet seven inches by three feet four inches. The figures are slightly under life-size, drawn in black chalk on yellowish-tinted paper backed on canvas. It has

¹ The Royal Academy Minute of March 23, 1791, signed by Sir Joshua Reynolds, runs:

“The Cartoon by Leonardo da Vinci, in the Royal Academy, being in a perishable state, having been neglected many years,

“Resolved—That it have all possible repairs, and be secured in a frame and glasses—which the Secretary is requested to take charge of.

² The Apostles' Heads also from the Arconati and Casnedi Collections passed through the agency of the Udneys eventually to Sir Thomas Lawrence. By his will they were offered to the nation for £1000, but the offer being refused, they left this country, finding a final resting-place at Weimar.

suffered somewhat from neglect in time past, though fortunately the most vital parts are fairly intact, and do not seem to have been renovated to any detrimental extent. The composition is very unusual, although Leonardo gives pictorial expression to the close relationship between St. Anne and the Virgin by adopting the natural expedient of placing the latter *in gremio Matris*. This conception underlies all his experiments of composition on the subject—it is so in the small sketch now in the British Museum, it occurs again in another version at Venice, and it remains so in the later treatment in the Louvre picture, although the actual working-out of the idea differs in them all. In the cartoon before us one must admit the composition is not altogether satisfactory; there is an indecision and complexity of outline which render it somewhat involved, and there can be little doubt that the altered position of the Virgin in the Louvre composition gives clearness and definiteness to the whole. Still, the motifs are distinct enough. The Virgin is the happy Mother smiling in conscious pride as her Boy leans over to play with His little companion, while St. Anne, no less happy to be a sharer in the domestic scene, seems, by her upraised finger, to remind the Mother of Jesus that there is also a divine import to this homely scene, for does not the Christ-Child bless the little St. John?

How simple the theme, yet what singular subtlety of expression, what refinement of feeling! See the enchantress smile that baffles analysis, and that mocks the copyist of to-day as it did those Milanese pupils and imitators of four centuries ago, like some Fata Morgana for ever eluding the grasp!

For Leonardo's aim was not mere expression—that was the aim of his followers who so little understood their master's genius. Expression came as the necessary

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result of his grasp of the essence of things—it was the mirror of the Soul within, to whose hidden recesses he had access as scarcely another before or since. As the hidden virtues of plants and the properties of minerals were to this seeker after Truth subjects for scientific investigation, so in his profound studies of human form, physiognomy and character what he felt most keenly and what he sought to realise in outward form was the highest spiritual significance. He felt the significant everywhere, and felt it so profoundly that his hand could never satisfy the demands of his spirit. And so he felt the limitations of his art more keenly than its powers as a vehicle of interpretation, and he would turn away from his work disheartened and dissatisfied. Hence much of his work is unfinished, as is the case with the cartoon.

Yet to all other eyes but his the result seemed satisfying. Leonardo ranks among the world's greatest artists by virtue of that very power which he alone felt so often to be insufficient, the power, namely, of presenting the significance of the world within in perfect pictorial form. See how he makes his figures exist, how real they are ! how rounded the forms, how perfect the modelling ! The draperies do not hide the form, they serve but to emphasise it ; see the exquisite way the hair of the little St. John is rendered ! These are the evidences of a master-hand ; and once again see the upturned hand of St. Anne, how marvellously the outline models and renders the roundness of the arm and wrist ! We are, alas, at some pains to follow the lines which express the movement of the Infant Christ, for time and neglect have blurred the fair beauty of this part of the cartoon. But careful observation reveals the foreshortened leg (much as we see it in the Child in the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Uffizi) and the Madonna's hands can be traced supporting the body.

The composition of the subject seems to have caused Leonardo much trouble. He modified the scheme again and again, though always retaining St. Anne as a central idea. But to a man of Leonardo's temperament questions of mere composition were of secondary importance, the very subject was subordinate to the exigencies of a higher necessity. A set subject was to him only a confession of the limitations of the human mind, and so little did it concern him that we find his treatment of the St. Anne frankly secular. There are those who would consider his rendering of the subject not only bizarre but actually irreverent, but as M. Gruyer has well said:¹ “Il entre dans sa fantaisie de représenter un groupe de deux figures jeunes de la même jeunesse, et belles de la même beauté. . . . Nous n'avons donc là ni Sainte Anne ni la Vierge : l'une est loin de l'austérité biblique que devrait avoir l'épouse de Saint Joachim, l'autre est plus loin encore de l'humilité divine qui symbolise la mère de Jésus ; mais la concordance de ces deux figures est ravissante, et l'accord de leurs sourires est un des plus mélodieux qui se puissent rêver. Toutes deux sont des enchanteresses, douées de cette beauté italienne jaillissante et toujours accompagnée de majesté. . . . Enigmatiques et mystérieuses, animées d'une sensibilité—j'allais dire d'une sensualité étrange, elles provoquent l'admiration, tout en portant dans l'âme un trouble qui va presque jusqu'à l'énerverment.” These words were written of the Louvre picture, but they apply to the cartoon in equal measure.

The cartoon is not finished ; but what cared Leonardo for mere finish ? A Luini could do that, but a Luini could never penetrate below the surface of things, and touch the secret springs of human happiness. The one is the work of inspiration, the other mere dexterity.

¹ “Le Salon Carré,” p. 37.

Leonardo can extract beauty from the most commonplace things ; he is so refined that he sees beauty everywhere, with him nothing is common or unclean. He is the most universal of mankind, and those who will understand something of his genius will live in daily converse with this supreme revelation of his spirit, and if through its medium they can catch but a reflection of his vision, they will be lifted to a higher plane of thought, they will be helped to a firmer grasp of Truth.

* * * *

So much then for the description and the history of the cartoon. Now let us turn to the more complex question of the relation it bears to the picture in the Louvre.

Most people are aware that the two compositions are different, yet not so widely dissimilar as to be totally independent the one of the other. If proof of this were needed we have only to see what confusion has existed in the minds of writers from Vasari downwards, who have confounded the two compositions. But in more recent times it has been amply demonstrated by writers like Mr. Marks¹ and M. Eugène Müntz² that the Royal Academy Cartoon represents the first stage in the development of an idea which received its final expression in a cartoon identical in composition with the Louvre picture.

The grounds on which this conclusion is arrived at are briefly :

- (i) The presence in the composition of the Louvre picture of a symbolical idea wanting in the Royal Academy Cartoon. This appears in the lamb, the emblem of sacrifice.
- (ii) The numerous copies and adaptations in whole or in part made by Leonardo's pupils and

¹ *Op. cit.*

² *Chronique des Arts*, December 5, 1891.

PLATE II



HOLY FAMILY WITH THE LAMB
BY RAPHAEL. MADRID. ANDERSON,
PHOTO

followers are, with one exception, based on the composition of the Louvre picture. The one exception is, as we have seen, the picture by Luini now in the Ambrosiana at Milan, which is derived from the Academy Cartoon composition. All the rest—to the number of about twenty-five—are inspired by the other design. This clearly proves that the more famous work of Leonardo's was—if not the Louvre picture—at any rate a cartoon identical in composition.

Now what evidence is there that such a cartoon existed? Fortunately we have two decisive proofs of this.

- (i) A letter to Isabella d'Este from her agent in Florence is extant dated April 3, 1501, in which Leonardo is described as being then at work in Florence on a Cartoon of St. Anne, the Virgin, Christ and a lamb. The letter also expresses the symbolical meaning of the work.¹
- (ii) Raphael's little picture now in the Madrid Gallery signed and dated 1507 is clearly an adaptation of Leonardo's design as we find it in the Louvre picture. We have moreover Vasari's express testimony that Raphael during his visit to Florence was inspired by Leonardo's work, and studied it closely. By the year 1507, then, the symbolical idea of Leonardo, afterwards embodied in the Louvre picture, was already existing in some form, and we may reasonably suppose that the cartoon mentioned in the letter of 1501 was the source of Raphael's inspiration for his little picture. Plate II

¹ Given by M. Yriarte in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1888, i. p. 123, and reprinted by M. Müntz in the *Chronique*, December 5, 1891.

If so, Leonardo's Cartoon was still in Florence in 1506 or 1507.

And now let us call Vasari to our aid. It will have been observed that up to this no mention has been made of Vasari's celebrated description of how all Florence—men and women, young and old—flocked, as to some solemn festival, to see Leonardo's newly finished Cartoon of St. Anne. Many writers have been content to assume that this cartoon, which according to Vasari acquired a great celebrity and was ranked among Leonardo's greatest achievements, was the same as the one now in the Royal Academy. To assume this was not unnatural, as no other cartoon by Leonardo was known to be actually in existence. But we have just shown that a second cartoon did exist, on which Leonardo was at work in Florence in 1501, and we have no hesitation in saying that Vasari's account refers to this second cartoon, and not to the earlier one now in the Royal Academy.¹

¹ Vasari, iv. 38. The description there given is inaccurate, in that it speaks of "a little St. John," whereas no such figure exists in the Louvre picture, and so presumably in the cartoon for the picture. Vasari has confused the two designs, like many other writers. But it is unnecessary to lay any stress upon such inaccuracies in the case of this too often careless writer. If we take his story and examine it carefully by the light of what we know from other sources we arrive at the following chronology: Leonardo comes to Florence towards the end of 1500 and finds Filippino Lippi commissioned by the Servites to paint a picture for them. Filippino withdraws in favour of Leonardo, who in April 1501 is at work on the Cartoon of St. Anne preliminary to a picture from it for the Servites. After many delays the cartoon is finished, probably towards the end of the year, and Leonardo is away from Florence till January 1503 without having completed the Servites' commission. After waiting some time longer they again give the contract to Filippino in 1503—the contract is extant—with a stipulation that the work shall be completed by Whitsuntide of the following year. Filippino dies on April 18, 1504, and his picture, *The Deposition from the Cross*, is finished by Perugino. It is now in the Academy at Florence.



THE PLATTEMBERG-ESTERHAZY CARTOON

Now, it may be asked, what has become of this cartoon, that acquired so much celebrity, that was so often copied?

Let us first dispose of two untenable theories which have been put forward in answer to this inquiry.

The first is that of M. Eugène Müntz, who suggests that the drawings of feet now in the Royal Collection at Windsor are in all probability fragments of the great Leonardo Cartoon.¹ That they are fragments of a large cartoon which has evidently at some time been cut up is obvious, but that they are the work of Leonardo cannot be admitted for one moment. These shapeless masses of flesh, flabby as puddings, are nothing more than the clumsy work of some imitator, as those will at once convince themselves who look at the reproductions published by the Grosvenor Gallery. These ridiculous feet can never have belonged to the great Florentine masterpiece. *Ex pede Herculem!*

The second theory put forward is that of Mr. Marks. Assuming that a certain cartoon, known as the Plattemberg (or Esterhazy) Cartoon, is a genuine work by Leonardo, he claims this to be the long-lost masterpiece.²

Now this theory is at once ingenious and, as stated by the author, extremely plausible. But it frankly ignores the foundation on which the theory must rest, that of the authenticity of the cartoon. It must be perfectly clear to all competent judges that this cartoon also is not Leonardo's work ; the adjoining reproduction (for permission to publish which we have to thank Mr. Marks) shows a feebleness of execution and certain tricks or mannerisms which clearly reveal a pupil's hand. The serpentine folds of drapery at the elbow, the slight emphasis of the upper lip, and the tendency to mark the cheek-bones together with the sharp

Plate
III

¹ *Chronique des Arts*, December 5, 1891.

² *Magazine of Art*, April 1893.

contrasts of light and shade point to Marco d'Oggiono Leonardo's pupil and well-known copyist, as the probable author. Be this as it may, it is quite unmistakable from the general coarseness of fibre and the want of refinement as compared with the Louvre picture that this cartoon has no more claim to be considered an original by Leonardo than the somewhat similar production at Turin.

The history of the Plattemberg (or Esterhazy) Cartoon is instructive as showing how a false tradition may arise. Resta, whose statement about the first cartoon—that now in the Royal Academy—we have already quoted, goes on to say in the same letter that he then (*i.e.* before 1696) had in his possession a Cartoon of St. Anne by Leonardo, carried further than the one first mentioned. Resta further tells us¹ that his cartoon had formerly belonged to Marco d'Oggiono, after whose death (in 1530) it was kept in a chest in his house at Vercelli, till bought by one of the Arese family. He gave it to the painter Bonola, from whom Resta had it. How the cartoon eventually passed into the possession of the Plattemberg family in Westphalia does not seem to be known, but it is first mentioned there by Dr. Waagen. That it is identical with Resta's cartoon is proved by the existence on the shutters of an inscription composed by Resta in honour of Leonardo, and mentioned by him in a letter still extant.² The present proprietor of the cartoon, Count Paul Esterhazy, is said to have carried it from Nordkirchen in Westphalia to Budapest. So much for the history of the cartoon.

Now it was clearly in Resta's interest as its then possessor to claim it to be a genuine work of the great Leonardo, for Resta was a dealer. To this ignorant if

¹ In a MS. cited by Bordiga (*Opere di Gaudenzio Ferrari*).

² Bottari, *op. cit.* iii. 349. The inscription is given in full in the *Athenæum*, April 23, 1892, but it is unimportant for our purposes.

not unscrupulous statement of his is to be traced the present tradition that the cartoon is the work of Leonardo, whereas it is clearly the production of a pupil. We need not be detained longer over this work, except to notice that Resta's account of the provenance of the cartoon strangely supports the view that it emanates from Marco d'Oggiono.

Again we return to the question, what has become of the great cartoon, the one, that is, on which Leonardo was at work in Florence in 1501, which Raphael must have seen there in 1507, and which Vasari describes in enthusiastic terms?

Let us see how far its history can be traced. Vasari tells us that Leonardo finished his cartoon, but abandoned the work (that is, the picture to be done from it); that the cartoon was afterwards carried into France, and that Leonardo was desired by the king (Francis I.) to paint a picture from it, but that Leonardo kept putting it off. Now we know that Leonardo did not go to France before 1516, so that between 1507 and 1516 the great cartoon still remained in Italy. Leonardo doubtless took it with him to Milan in 1507, where began the process of copying the already celebrated cartoon by his Milanese pupils, a process which must have continued long after his death. In 1516 Leonardo goes to France, taking the cartoon with him; and here we have a very interesting glimpse of him at work through a document published by Uzielli.¹ This is of the greatest value as throwing light upon the question of the relation of the cartoon to the unfinished picture now in the Louvre. A pathetic interest attaches to this account of a visit paid to Leonardo by the Cardinal Lodovico d'Aragona, for the writer, the Count's secretary, who was also present, tells us that Leonardo showed them several pictures and among

¹ "Ricerche," ii. 460.

them "one of the Madonna and the Son placed in the lap of St. Anne, all most perfect, although that by reason of a certain paralysis which has affected his right hand, one can no longer expect good work from him : yet he has well-trained a Milanese assistant (*creato*) who works fairly well. And although the aforesaid Messer Leonardo cannot paint with the sweetness he once had, yet he is able to make designs, and to teach others." This visit took place in 1516, three years before Leonardo's death at the age of sixty-seven.

Here, then, is direct evidence of Leonardo being at work on a picture of St. Anne, helped by his *creato*, who must have been either Melzi or Salaino. After Leonardo's death at Amboise in 1519, Melzi returned to Milan taking his master's possessions with him, among them—there can be little doubt—both the unfinished picture and the cartoon. The latter was still in Milan in 1585, for Lomazzo distinctly says "the cartoon, which was afterwards carried into France, is now in Milan in possession of Aurelio Luini, and many copies of it go about."¹

Finally Bossi quotes a MS. which implies that the great cartoon was still in Milan in 1618, and that a certain Andrea Bianchi had copied it.² After this, all trace of it disappears ; it has shared the fate of its famous contemporary works, the drawing, also by Leonardo, for the Battle of Anghiari, and the rival effort of Michael Angelo of *The Bathers*. Strange fatality that the world has thus lost three of the greatest artistic productions ever seen ! "This composition," says Mr. Berenson, speaking of the last, "must have been the greatest masterpiece in figure art of modern times."³ But when the works of a Greek poet of the

¹ Lomazzo, "Trattato," ed. 1585, p. 171.

² Bossi, "Cenacolo," p. 256, note 23.

³ Berenson, "Florentine Painters," p. 92.



MADONNA WITH ST. ANNE
EARL OF YARBOROUGH'S COL-
LECTION. DIXON, PHOTO

fifth century B.C. have lately been restored to us, we need never despair of one day recovering these missing treasures of a far later age.

As to the unfinished picture, it is well known that Cardinal Richelieu removed it from Milan in 1629, and that its final resting-place is in the Salon Carré of the Louvre. The statement of Paolo Giovio¹ that the picture was bought by Francis and kept by him among his most precious possessions must, in the face of this perfectly well authenticated fact, be erroneous.

The authenticity of the Louvre picture has often been called in question, but not only does the internal evidence of the work itself amply prove the presence of the great master's hand—at least in all important particulars—but from the above-quoted document and from the history of the picture as already given, it is clear that this is the picture on which Leonardo was engaged at the time of his death in 1519, and which he never completed.

This picture is so well known and has been reproduced so often that we present here instead one of the numerous other versions that exist, that belonging to the Earl of Yarborough in London.² This beautiful example is about the same size as the Louvre picture, with which it is identical in the composition of the figures, though entirely different in the character of the landscape background. To which of the many followers and imitators of Leonardo are we to ascribe it? Let us note the differences between it and the original.

In the figures we find an excessive attention paid to non-significant detail, the elaborate treatment of the

¹ Tiraboschi, "Storia, &c.", Naples 1786, vol. ix. p. 311; and Bossi, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–22.

² I am indebted to Mr. Alfred Marks for the use of his negative.

hair, the pattern on the sleeve, the ornamented borders of the dresses and the rich fastenings of the sandals, none of which things are found in the Louvre picture. Again, details such as the veil of St. Anne and the folds of the drapery wherever they can be introduced are insisted on.

This elaboration is still more evident in the foreground of minutely studied flowers, and in the photographic accuracy of the distant landscape, features quite independent of the Paris picture. In fact, the only possible conclusion to come to is that this is a careful work by one of the many itinerant Flemings who flocked to Italy and particularly haunted Milan. The type of the Virgin is distinctly suggestive of the Flemish School, while the folds on her forearm are identical with those in the admittedly Flemish copy of the *Mona Lisa* in the Madrid Gallery. But there is this difference in the relation between the Madrid and Paris *Mona Lisas*, and in that between the Earl of Yarborough's *St. Anne* and the Paris original—that the picture we are now discussing was not copied straight from Leonardo's version, but must have been done from the copy made by Salaino, formerly in the Sacristy of St. Celso at Milan, and now in the Leuchtenberg Gallery at St. Petersburg. This version was the best known of all the many that were made, and in it the landscape is very similar to that in the London picture. It was this likeness which doubtless caused Dr. Waagen to attribute the picture to Salaino. It is possible that the same hand painted both this picture and the Madrid version of the *Mona Lisa*, and whatever beauty one may be tempted to find in this Flemish version, one must acknowledge that it is the beauty of the jackdaw with borrowed plumes, and many degrees removed from the spontaneity and intensity of the original.

To sum up :

- (i) Leonardo executed a first cartoon before April 1501, and according to Resta before 1500, in Milan for Louis XII. (to whom it was never sent). This cartoon is now in the Royal Academy, London.
- (ii) Leonardo was engaged on the second cartoon in Florence in April 1501. The composition was like the Louvre picture. This is the great cartoon mentioned by Vasari, and adapted by Raphael in 1507. Leonardo took it with him to France in 1516.
- (iii) The Louvre picture was being executed by Leonardo, helped by a *creato*, from this cartoon in France in 1516. Both picture and cartoon went back to Milan after his death, the former returning to France in 1629 ; all traces of the latter being lost after 1618.
- (iv) Neither the Plattemberg-Esterhazy cartoon nor the Windsor fragments can rightly claim to be the original.

II. LEONARDO DA VINCI AND SOME COPIES¹

THE interest taken in Leonardo da Vinci was never greater than it is to-day. A whole library of comment has grown up round the inexhaustible subject of a man to whom the title of Universal Genius may most fitly be applied.² Anything which can throw even a sidelight on this wonderful Superman is of cardinal value, and therefore any material, even though in itself relatively insignificant, which helps us to that end becomes of importance.

In the sphere of painting so little comparatively remains to us of Leonardo's own creations that what is vaguely called the Leonardesque demands our closest study. His pupils, followers and imitators reflect the glory of their master and teacher, and at times it is only through them that we get glimpses of the invisible source of inspiration. Admitting, as we well may, the artistic inferiority of what is called the Post-Vincian school of Milan, we may be thankful that it has preserved for us themes, compositions and motives of the master himself, which but for it would have been for ever lost.

One such instance is here presented for the first time. A *St. John the Baptist* (so-called) attributed to Plate v Leonardo has just come to light after lying hidden in a house in Cheshire for sixty years past. No one knows its history, nor does any record exist of it in the older writers. Its discovery coincides somewhat curiously with the reappearance at the Grafton Galleries exhibition of the similar picture, belonging to

¹ Reprinted from the *Burlington Magazine*, December 1911.

² The *Raccolta Vinciana*, now in its seventh year of publication at Milan, is invaluable for reference to all the Leonardo literature.

PLATE V



THE "LEONARDO" ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST
PRIVATE COLLECTION. GRAY, PHOTO

PLATE VI



THE "LEONARDO" ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST
COLLECTION OF THE EARL OF CRAWFORD, HAIGH

the Earl of Crawford, which also bears Leonardo's name.

Plate
VI

The latter is much smaller in size and entirely different in details of landscape and accessories. Nevertheless, both are versions of one and the same theme, the theme which has long been known from the large picture in the Louvre called *Bacchus*, also attributed to Leonardo. Here, then, are three pictures differing in size and detail from one another, but agreeing in the main figure (whether called *Bacchus* or St. John), and all bearing Leonardo's name. What is the conclusion to be drawn? Did Leonardo produce all three, or any one, or none?

Internal evidence has long ago demonstrated that the Louvre picture can be the work only of some imitator (possibly more than one hand is here to be traced), a hybrid result according ill with the style of the *St. John the Baptist* and the *St. Anne*, both likewise in the Louvre, which are, beyond question, in the main Leonardo's own work of the latest period (1513-19). It is idle to speculate on the name of the pupil or imitator who produced this frankly disagreeable picture; the point is that it is universally regarded as having no claim to be Leonardo's own original.¹

As to Lord Crawford's little picture, internal evidence did not establish its certain parentage when exhibited in 1898 at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, where opportunities of comparison with many works of Leonardo's School were possible. The names of Cesare da Sesto, Martino Piazza (of Lodi) and Lanini found supporters. Detective analysis failed to establish unanimity as to the identity of its author. Nor has

¹ The Church of St. Eustorgio at Milan possesses a similar picture equally unauthentic. Another was in the Penther collection in Vienna, sold in 1887.

more recent research been entirely successful.¹ The fact remains that whoever did paint this exquisite little picture was certainly closer to Leonardo himself in quality than the painters of the other two, and has preserved for us much of the androgynous charm, much of the spirit of mystery, much of the elusive fascination which the great master himself would have given us.

In quality the newly discovered example stands not far behind its fellow. Of larger dimensions, it lacks perhaps the subtlety of feeling and a certain daintiness of handling which characterise Lord Crawford's example. The landscape is more summarised, the modelling less careful and the chiaroscuro less masterly. Morellian analysis does not reveal its author, and we must be content to accept this new revelation of the Leonardesque as proof that Leonardo did indeed treat the subject himself in a drawing or cartoon to which his pupils had access, and from which each worked out his own version with varying degrees of freedom. That this was constantly the practice is proved by the innumerable copies, more or less contemporary, which were made of Leonardo's motives. *The Last Supper*, *The Madonna of the Rocks*, the *St. Anne*, the *Leda*, &c., exist in many school repetitions: and had it not been for the early disappearance of the *Mona Lisa* into the seclusion of the French King's cabinet, the world would doubtless to-day possess copies by Leonardo's actual pupils of greater value than the few French and Flemish copies which do exist.²

And this brings us to the second point here illus-

¹ *Vide* Sir Claude Phillips in the *Daily Telegraph*, October 18, 1911.

² Of these, three are in England, at Earl Brownlow's, Earl of Wemyss's and Earl of Malmesbury's. The last was on exhibition at the Grafton Galleries. A fourth has lately turned up at Bath.

PLATE VII



MADONNA WITH ST. ANNE. BY SALAINO
LEUCHTENBERG GALLERY, ST. PETERSBURG

trated. Of the twenty-five different versions of the *St. Anne*, the original of which is in the Louvre, none was more famous than the copy made by Salaino, probably under Leonardo's own eye. This copy long existed in the sacristy of the church of St. Celso in Milan, until removed into the Leuchtenberg Gallery now at St. Petersburg, where the present writer lately was privileged to study it in detail, and to obtain a photograph here published. Fortunately the great original still hangs in the Salon Carré of the Louvre ; for, defaced though it be, and retouched by other hands, there can be no doubt that this is the very picture mentioned in 1516 as on Leonardo's easel and still incomplete. It was just this incompleteness which induced the young assistant, Salaino, to try his hand at a copy, borrowing the central theme, working it up in careful detail, elaborating landscape and accessories, introducing just so much individual treatment as enables us to form a clue to his style elsewhere. Doubtless this version of the pupil hanging in one of the Milanese churches became the one most familiar to later students (for Leonardo's own original had gone to France) ; a proof of this is afforded by the later copy now belonging to the Earl of Yarborough, which would seem to have been done by one of the itinerant Flemings who came south in the sixteenth century, especially to Milan, and there worked on Leonardesque designs. This copy is closer to Salaino's picture than to Leonardo's original, and is by no means devoid of charm and ability.

See
Plate
iv

When we remember that Leonardo himself retouched some of Salaino's work (so says Vasari) the value of the Leuchtenberg version is increased : and assuming the tradition to be true that it is really from the hand of Salaino, we get at last a *point de départ* for disentangling his style from that of the other pupils, and

a document of some importance in the history of Milanese art.

* * * *

We are so much accustomed to regard the *Mona Lisa* as the typical production of Leonardo that it is difficult to realise that he must sometimes have fallen short of this, his supreme standard.

But if we regard the matter from an historical standpoint, we shall more readily acquiesce in the idea of his growth and development. Leonardo was born in 1452 and passed thirty years of his life in Florence before migrating to Milan; and it was not until twenty years afterwards, again, that he created the *Mona Lisa*. In other words, there is a period of at least thirty years' activity to be accounted for, and it is natural to suppose that Leonardo, like other Florentine artists, passed through successive stages of tutelage, apprenticeship and an early independent career before attaining to the status of a recognised master. Yet of his early Florentine period, *i.e.* from about 1470 to 1482, we know comparatively little, and no unanimity prevails among modern writers as to the identification of those youthful works, whether in sculpture or painting, which he must undoubtedly have produced. Nor is it reasonable to suppose that everything has perished. True, there is the angel in Verrocchio's *Baptism*; there is the little sketch of a landscape dated 1473; and another sheet of sketches dated 1478 in the Uffizi; there is the drawing in the Bonnat collection which can be assigned to 1479, and there is the unfinished *Adoration of the Magi* in the Uffizi dating from 1481. But is that really all? Has all else perished? Considerations of style have induced various writers to assign this or that drawing, this or that painting or sculpture, to this early period, but no real reconstruction of the

Verrocchiesque Leonardo will ever succeed until we rule out the *Mona Lisa* standard, and frankly recognise that Leonardo was quattrocentist and not cinquecentist in style, that he was Florentine and not Milanese in character, and that his art was organic in its growth and not an isolated phenomenon springing, Minerva-like, fully armed from his magician brain. It would be impossible here to "grapple with whole libraries" dealing with the manifold conjectures of critics who have sought to rob him of his early works; but it is safe to predict a far wider recognition of existing material as in fact his own production, and a more general acceptance than is the case to-day of the authenticity of such pictures as the *Annunciation* (Uffizi), the *Ginevra dei Benci* (Liechtenstein), the *Lady with the Weasel* (Cracow), and the later *Madonna Litta* (St. Petersburg) and *La Belle Ferronnière* (Louvre). Short of documentary proof (which may any day be forthcoming from recesses of the archives), nothing but the consensus of those best qualified to judge will establish such authenticity, and this again can be determined only after long lapse of time. The mere *ipse dixit* of this or that critic will have to stand this supreme test before final acceptance.

The *Madonna and Child* here illustrated has already started on its course of self-vindication under the happiest auspices. Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni, of Milan, has bravely claimed it as genuine,¹ and the distinguished director of the gallery at St. Petersburg, M. de Liphart, likewise believes in it.² So few people have been able to study the original in its remote home in Russia that it is probably quite unknown to English students; the

¹ *Nuova Antologia*, July 1911.

² "Les anciennes écoles de peinture dans les palais et collections privées russes," Brussels 1910, pp. 30, 32. The same writer has since dealt with the matter more fully in the "Jahrbuch," 1912.

Plate
viii

present writer was privileged this year, for the first time, to examine it, and now publishes the photograph in the *Burlington Magazine*.¹ His best thanks are due to the fortunate owner, Mme. Léon Bénoin.

Dr. Frizzoni writes thus : "I am disposed to claim for Leonardo's early manner a small picture of the Madonna, who smilingly offers to the Child a small flower. How and when it came to leave its native land to migrate to Russia no one knows. To-day it is in private possession at St. Petersburg, where I had the opportunity of examining it a few months ago, and enjoying its delicacy (*le finezze*) almost hidden under the aspect of a timid and, I should say, youthful effort ; an effort not entirely successful, to be sure, if one admits certain obvious inequalities and imperfections, but nevertheless revealing many particulars in common with recognised works of Leonardo, especially in its way of understanding and of modelling the human form."

The first impression is, perhaps, displeasing ; there is an unusual and uncomfortable presentation of a sister playing with a baby-brother which accords strangely with the conception of the Madonna and the Holy Child. Yet this is exactly Leonardo's way—Bacchus or St. John, sacred or profane, who knows which ?—and so here. The intensely Human is made the type of the Divine mystery, and how wonderfully human it all is ! The Child trying to focus its vision on the flower held out to it—the backward tilt of the head—the eager clutch of the tiny hands—the happy interest and devotion of the girl-mother. Here, indeed, is proof of observation, of that study which Leonardo was always advocating. And how lovingly he has played with the pretty coils of hair, plaited as only Leonardo

¹ It has also been given in "L'Arte," 1909, p. 222, and in Venturi's "Storia dell' Arte Italiana," vol. vii. 491.

PLATE VIII



MADONNA AND CHILD. BY LEONARDO
DA VINCI. BÉNOIS COLLECTION, ST. PETERS-
BURG



MADONNA AND CHILD. BY LORENZO
DI CREDI. COLONNA GALLERY, ROME
ANDERSON, PHOTO

knew how, and the folds of sleeve and mantle ! Yes, it may be precious, but that is Leonardo's way, and it may be unfinished, and that is Leonardo's way, too ; and it may have strange harmonies and stranger beauties of subtle import, but that is Leonardo's spirit, the spirit which was afterwards to find fullest expression in the exotic beauty of Mona Lisa's haunting smile.

A poor lifeless copy is to be seen in the Colonna Plate
Gallery in Rome, probably an imitation by the youthful ix
Lorenzo di Credi, which serves merely as a foil to its prototype. The Louvre, however, possesses a slight sketch, perhaps the first idea for the picture, and certainly genuine ; only here the Child plunges His left hand into a bowl held by the Mother, and raises His right hand to her cheek. It is characteristic of Leonardo to vary the motives between sketch and picture, so the very variation is just what we should expect to find. And there is yet one further indication worth noting as possible evidence—a pen-drawing in the Uffizi has a note in Leonardo's own handwriting . . . "(octo)ber 1478 I commenced the 2 Virgin Marys". Who can say whether the Bénois *Madonna* be not one ?¹

¹ I am indebted to M. de Liphardt for this suggestion. Sir Sidney Colvin has since pointed out that the original drawing by Leonardo for this composition is in the British Museum (see *Burlington Magazine*, January 1912) ; that fact had previously been pointed out by Dr. Osvald Sirén (though unknown to myself and Sir Sidney Colvin) in his book on "Leonardo," published in Swedish in 1911, and by Herr Thijs, Director of the Gallery at Christiania, in his account of Leonardo, published in 1909 in Norwegian. Dr. Gronau has just published in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* a full account of all the copies and adaptations of this composition, with illustrations, and adds the weight of his opinion to my contention and that of others, that the motif emanated from Leonardo himself.

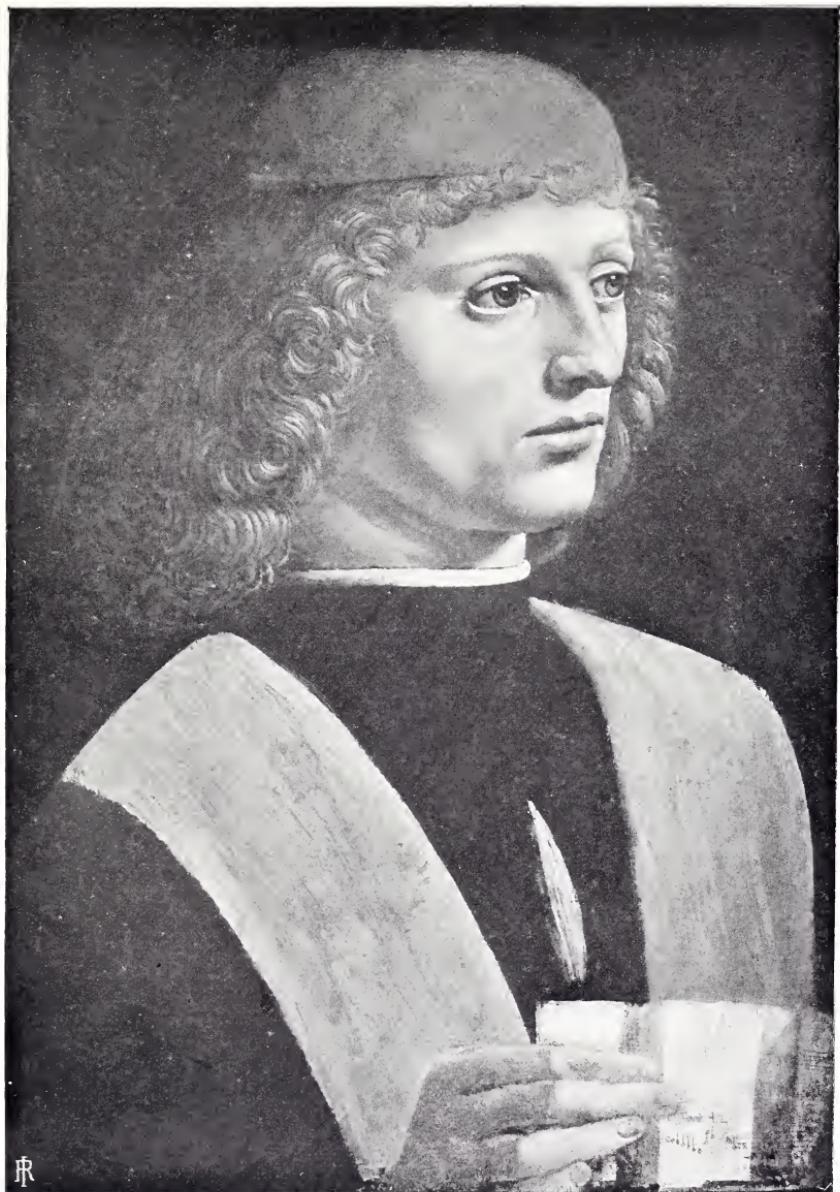
III. A PORTRAIT OF A MUSICIAN, BY LEONARDO DA VINCI¹

OF the literature about Leonardo da Vinci there is no end, nor ever will be. Let us hope this be not the case with his satellite, Ambrogio de Predis. Yet English, German, French and Italian critics spend much ink in his service, and there is some danger lest we forget the relatively small place he really occupies in the hierarchy of art. He is, in fact, in imminent danger of being over-stated, and of being discovered in places where he is not.²

The real justification for such subsidiary study is that we are enabled thereby the better to appreciate what is really significant in art. The standard attained by an Ambrogio de Predis, by a Bernardino de' Conti—nay, even by a Boltraffio—serves to emphasise the unattainable heights reached by Leonardo. And here it is that we find the crux of the whole matter. Ambrogio's reach, in fact, far exceeded his grasp, but just how far did his grasp actually go? In other words, the problem is one of Quality, and the touchstone of quality is Feeling. All analysis is subject to this indefinable test, and when *La Belle Ferronière* (of the Louvre) is taken from Leonardo and given to the painstaking Boltraffio; when even *The Annunciation* (in the Uffizi) was actually considered to be the work of that *pasticheur*, Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, and the *Ginevra dei Benci* (in the Liechtenstein) is still seriously claimed for Verrocchio, one wonders if the sense of style and

¹ Reprinted from the *Burlington Magazine*, November 1907.

² As an instance of this tendency witness a recent addition to the National Gallery—a gift from Sir George Donaldson—where a portrait of Bona of Savoy is, in my opinion, wrongly labelled with his name. Reproduced in the *Burlington Magazine*, vol. v. p. 207, May 1904.



PORTRAIT OF A MUSICIAN. BY LEONARDO
DA VINCI. AMBROSIANA GALLERY, MILAN
|BROGI, PHOTO

feeling for quality really come into play in an estimate which so belittles the great or, conversely, so exalts the humble.

The fullest and best account of Ambrogio de Predis is given by Herr von Seidlitz in a recent monograph.¹ This is an admirable survey of the whole question of the relation of Ambrogio to his master Leonardo, and on the whole the author is singularly free of prejudice. Yet the simple measure tends to grow heroic, until the fatal step is taken and Ambrogio finds himself ranked with the gods. “Das männliche Bildnis der Ambrosiana zeigt den Künstler auf der Höhe seines Könnens.” This is indeed beatification. For who does not know those fascinating portraits in the Ambrosiana at Milan, Plate and who does not know that these are the rocks on x which the tide of criticism breaks ?

English readers may not yet be aware of a new phase of the controversy which has lately arisen. The man's portrait has been carefully cleaned, and behold ! a hand now appears holding a sheet of music. Signor Luca Beltrami puts forward the ingenious suggestion that this musician—for so in future he must be called—is a certain Francesco Gaffurio who was master of the music at the court of Lodovico il Moro. There is nothing inherently improbable in this identification, and the conjecture is supported by the apparent age of the portrait and the known dates of Gaffurio's life.² The first result to which the distinguished writer comes is that the picture cannot have been painted later than about 1483, about the time, that is to say, when Leonardo first came to Milan. And then he proceeds to throw in his lot with those who believe that

¹ “Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses,” vol. xxxvi. No. 1. Vienna 1906.

² See full details in “Raccolta Vinciana,” ii. pp. 75–80. Milan 1909.

Leonardo painted it. "See," he says "the characteristic structure of the orbit of the eye, the drawing of the mouth, the modelling of the face, the supreme elegance and delicacy of the hair with its full fair ringlets ; all this suggests Leonardo's hand : we see just the same indications in the drawing of the eye and the mouth of the angel in the *Madonna of the Rocks*, which dates from the last decade of the fifteenth century ; the treatment of hair, too, and the chiaroscuro are also similar. Leonardo, then, is the master who painted this portrait. . . ."

But now let us go a step further, and contrast with this Leonardesque head another one similar—yet how dissimilar!—painted by the master's imitator and pupil, Ambrogio de Predis. For the contrast will surely prove that there is a great gulf fixed—the gulf of quality—between them. Fortunately this head is in a very similar position, and comparison is thereby facilitated.

This *Portrait of a Young Man* is in Sir Frederick Cook's gallery at Richmond, and was exhibited in 1898 at the Milanese Exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts

Plate
xi

Club. Its attribution to Ambrogio de Predis has not passed unchallenged, but as it is now reproduced for the first time it will be easier perhaps for those who doubt to decide on its authenticity. In spite of a certain repainting of eyes and other features, the characteristic handling of Ambrogio appears in the sallow complexion, the treatment of hair and the vacuous expression. Let any one compare the modelling with that in the signed Archinto portrait in the National Gallery, and the two will reveal an identity of authorship.

But let us point the moral. Here is Ambrogio, sleek and insipid : Ambrogio, if you will, in a dull and listless mood, but surely even in a moment of inspiration incapable of rising to the level of the musician's



PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN. BY AMBROGIO
DE PREDIS. COLLECTION OF SIR FREDERICK COOK,
RICHMOND. ANDERSON, PHOTO

portrait. His advocates must bridge a wide gulf, and there are not even stepping-stones across. Compare for a moment the wiggy hair with the crisp, curling, living lines that frame the musician's face ; contrast the flabby cheeks of the one with the graduated modelling of the other—the one a mask, the other life itself. Contrast the stilted drawing of the hand in the National Gallery portrait by de Predis with the nervous, vital feeling present in the musician's hand, still felt through the disguise of restoration. The one is done from without, the other built up from within. Surely here is a difference of Quality which is not one of degree, but of kind. Surely Ambrogio stands confessed the conscious imitator of a better man than himself. And so Ambrogio serves to throw into stronger relief the work of his great master Leonardo. And in that way the smaller men subsist to a worthy end. We are too busy nowadays in exalting the humble to positions of honour for which they are not fitted, and reducing the Leonardos and their kind to mere shadows of themselves. To rescue Ambrogio from oblivion, as Morelli did, was one thing, but to place him in the seats of the mighty, as Morelli did not but others are busy doing, is a sad blunder. Leonardo will come into his own in time, and it would not be rash to predict that in a very few years the meagre list of his reputed paintings will enlarge its borders. Dr. Bode has shown the way in that admirable reconstruction of the early sculptures of his Florentine period;¹ Dr. Carotti² and others rightly include the Czartoryski *Lady with the Weasel* (almost conclusively a portrait of Cecilia Gallerani)³ and the Liechtenstein *Ginevra dei Benci*, and

¹ See "Jahrbuch," 1904, pp. 125–141.

² "Le Opere di Leonardo," &c. Milan 1905.

³ Reproduced in the *Burlington Magazine*, vol. x. p. 308, February 1907.

Dr. Frizzoni is nearly won over to the belief in the Uffizi *Annunciation*.¹ Let us hope, at least, that the *Young Man* in the Richmond Gallery will strengthen the conviction of those who hold that the musician of the Ambrosiana is indeed the creation of Leonardo himself.²

¹ "L'Arte," 1907, p. 84.

² The portrait is unfinished, as so often with Leonardo's work. With Ambrogio everything is finished and little else.



THE NEWLY DISCOVERED "LEONARDO
DA VINCI"

IV. THE NEWLY DISCOVERED “LEONARDO”¹

AMILD sensation has been caused by the alleged discovery of a real Leonardo. This “find” is in one way unlike that of other so-called discoveries, for any one at all familiar with Leonardo and his work at once recognises, even from the photograph, an old friend in disguise. The more responsible among the Italian critics have already discounted the sensation raised by the daily journalists, and Count Malaguzzi Valeri has openly denounced the “Leonardo” as “the work of a late painter who has taken the drawing at Chantilly, or some other similar Leonardesque painting, now lost, as his model.”² With this conclusion I entirely agree, with the sole reservation that the words “now lost” may be wrong.

But first let us see what examples of this somewhat unpleasing subject exist, and when we find that no less than seven more or less similar are actually known, the discovery of an eighth becomes rather less startling.

First we have the drawing at Chantilly, a large cartoon in black chalk heightened in white.³ Critics are fairly agreed that this, if not Leonardo’s own work, is at any rate produced by some one of his immediate circle. The mystery of the *Mona Lisa* is here replaced by a boldness which repels; certain small peculiarities of modelling suggest the hand of Ambrogio de Predis. But we are not here concerned with the minutiae of diagnosis, so we pass on to the painting in the

¹ Reprinted from the *Burlington Magazine*, May 1909.

² “Rassegna d’Arte,” March 1909.

³ Both this and the two following versions are illustrated in the “Rassegna d’Arte.”

Hermitage at St. Petersburg, which is more distressingly vulgar in expression, although relieved by a romantic landscape background. This, indeed, so closely resembles the landscape behind the *Mona Lisa* that the pupil or copyist, whoever he may have been, has been obviously as much interested in that part of the work as in the figure. If we may venture a guess, it may be the work of Cesare da Sesto.

Next follow two paintings, one now in the possession of Mr. William Kaupe at Pallanza, Lago Maggiore, the other belonging to Conte Joseph Primoli at Rome.

Plate XIII The former is of admirable quality, and comes very close to the master himself; it may be indeed that this is the work of Luini. The latter is described by MM. Lafenestre and Richtenberger¹ as "une réplique avec quelques variantes dans la coiffure du tableau que possède le musée de l'Ermitage à Saint Pétersbourg." Probably this, too, is a school-copy. And so the list goes on to two others, said by Conte Malaguzzi Valeri in his article to be decidedly inferior, and a seventh, cited by Müntz, belonging to M. Chabrières-Arles in Paris.²

And now the eighth is suddenly proclaimed *urbi et orbi* as a great discovery!—and its pedigree traced back to 1664—as if that proved its paternity to be Leonardo's, who lived one hundred and fifty years previous to that again. And when it is claimed to be the original work by Leonardo, and the father of all these copies, it is high time to protest against the canonisation of such a weak and flabby claimant. One would have thought³

¹ "La Peinture en Europe," Rome, p. 289.

² "Leonardo," Müntz, vol. ii. 246. The other example mentioned by this writer as having been in the Fesch sale is the one now belonging to Conte Joseph Primoli in Rome.

³ As already pointed out in the *Burlington Magazine* for April 1909, p. 51.

PLATE XIII



THE "LEONARDO" PORTRAIT
KAUPE COLLECTION, PALLANZA

PLATE XIV



THE "LEONARDO" CARTOON
COLLECTION OF EARL SPENCER,
ALTHORP. HANFSTÄGL, PHOTO

the tasteless and clumsy arrangement of flowers and the mechanical and lifeless drawing of the hands alone betrayed a seventeenth-century (probably Flemish) imitation. The odd variation in the left hand, whereby the fingers are made to stick straight out, shows that the painter wanted to introduce as much detail as possible, even to finger-nails, which are here drawn and painted with peculiar care. This trick is essentially Flemish.

We may conclude that this eighth version has probably less reason than any of the others to be considered the original, and further discussion of its claims is unnecessary.

But I hope it may be of more interest and value to introduce two other versions, both in England, one of which is almost entirely unknown to students, and the other—a cartoon—exhibited some years ago and since forgotten.

The latter, which is in the magnificent collection at Althorp, belongs to Earl Spencer, and figured in the Plate Milanese Exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club xiv in 1898. It was there generally held to be a Leonard-esque production, also, like the Chantilly cartoon, emanating from the master's following, but certainly not from his own hand. Unlike the Chantilly cartoon, there is a distant landscape seen through an opening framed in by columns, an idea probably taken from the Mona Lisa picture. The latter, as we know, very early passed into the possession of the French king, so that the Spencer cartoon may possibly be an early French copy, an idea curiously confirmed by the presence of an inscription on the cartoon with the words "La belle Gabrielle." This is obviously intended for the famous mistress of Henri Quatre, and shows incidentally how early these false names came to be put on portraits. But whatever be the precise origin of the

Spencer cartoon, it is also nothing more than a good old copy.

Finally we have a tenth example in the painting belonging to Sir Kenneth Muir-Mackenzie, in London, who kindly allows it to be reproduced here for the first time.¹ It was bought by the late Mr. Graham from Signor Bertolini, in Milan, in 1876, who had it from the Duke of Litta's gallery, and it has descended to the present owner by inheritance. I hope I shall not be thought chauvinistic if I claim this English version to be the best of them all.

The feature which at once strikes one as distinct and original is the charming arrangement of the leafy background, forming a kind of bower in which the lady is ensconced. This is very different from the wedding-cake flowers in the new version, and indeed is beautifully painted. This is quite in keeping with what we know of Leonardo's loving studies of botany and his wondrous skill in reproducing plant life. The variation in pose—the bust is the only one (so far as I know) seen in almost full view—also suggests his co-operation rather than an original variation by some pupil. Yet his drawing can hardly be seen all through, for the weak construction of the hand and arm certainly betrays an inferior draughtsman. And here Vasari comes to our aid. For he tells us that Leonardo retouched some of the work of his pupil Salaino, and this to my mind is one of the examples of such co-operation. The name the picture still bears is Salaino's, for it was under this designation that the work was bought in Milan in 1876, so that all tends to confirm the view that here we get nearer to Leonardo than in any other existing version. It is possible of course that a yet earlier

¹ Although exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1879 and again later at the Fair Women Exhibition at the Grafton Gallery, the importance of this version appears to have escaped notice.



THE PORTAIT BY SALAINO
COLLECTION OF SIR K. MUIR-
MACKENZIE. GRAY, PHOTO

version entirely by Leonardo once existed, but, failing this, I claim the London picture to be the one best entitled to consideration as the original from which the others were taken.¹

¹ Miss Constance Ffoulkes, writing in the "Rassegna d'Arte," 1910, p. 27, thinks the author may be Melzi, and not Salaino. In either case we get a pupil or assistant of Leonardo working, I should say, under the direct supervision of the master himself.

V. THE PORTRAIT OF GINEVRA DEI BENCI BY LEONARDO DA VINCI¹

Plate
xvi

THE remarkable portrait of Ginevra dei Benci in the Liechtenstein Gallery at Vienna, identified as such some years ago by Dr. Bode,² is gradually winning its way to recognition as one of the early works of Leonardo da Vinci.³ The proof rests upon an examination of quality and style, upon the statements of Vasari and the still earlier "Anonimo Gaddiano" that Leonardo did paint the portrait of the young Ginevra, and upon the fact that in the Liechtenstein portrait the juniper tree (*ginepro*) is introduced, not only as a decorative background, but appears also on the back of the panel as part of a device referring clearly to the person portrayed. Further, Dr. Bode has also published a portrait inscribed with the name of Ginevra dei Benci, in possession of the Marchese Pucci in Florence, which he considers to be a free copy done by a later hand from the Liechtenstein painting.

Nevertheless, in spite of these (to my mind) convincing arguments, some modern criticism adopts Morelli's view that the portrait emanates from Verrocchio, Leonardo's master,⁴ and a still more recent idea is that Lorenzo di Credi is really the author.⁵ A collaboration between Verrocchio and Leonardo is the

¹ Reprinted from the *Burlington Magazine*, March 1912.

² 1887, and afterwards "Zeitschrift," 1903, ii. 274.

³ Mackowsky, "Verrocchio," p. 46 (Leipzig, 1901); Suida, "Moderne Cicerone," p. 73 (Vienna, 1903); Carotti, "Le opere di Leonardo," &c., p. 14 (Milan, 1905), all accept Leonardo's authorship.

⁴ Berenson, "Florentine Painters" (1900), p. 141; Miss Cruttwell, "Verrocchio," p. 106 (1904).

⁵ Frizzoni, "Nuova Antologia," July 1911, quoting with approval (p. 14) Venturi, "Storia dell' Arte Italiana," vol. vii. (Milan, 1911).

PLATE XVI



PORTRAIT OF GINEVRA DEI BENCI. BY
LEONARDO DA VINCI. LIECHTENSTEIN
GALLERY, VIENNA. HANFSTÄGL, PHOTO

latest proposal.¹ Other authorities pass the problem over in silence, or prefer not to commit themselves.²

But, in spite of this apparent divergence of view, every one seems to agree that the portrait belongs to that decade of Florentine art, 1470-80, when the young Leonardo and the still more youthful Credi were at work together in Verrocchio's studio. That being so, how do the known dates of Ginevra's life fit in? She was born, it seems, in 1457, was married in 1473, and died in August of the same year.³ Therefore, supposing she was painted from life, she could not have been older than her seventeenth year. Now, the "Anonimo Gaddiano" expressly tells us that Leonardo painted her from the life in Florence, so it would seem he painted her just before or after her marriage in 1473, and certainly before her early death in August of the same year. Now, there is nothing actually in the Liechtenstein portrait to indicate that the girl represented is a bride, but in the free copy above referred to, and published by Dr. Bode,⁴ the hands are showing, and in one she is holding up a ring, the very indication that we should expect in the portrait of a young *fiancée*. And as it can be shown by examination of the Liechtenstein panel that it has been cut down, the inference is that originally the hands were showing, and that probably the girl held a ring, as in the Pucci copy.

We may therefore assume the Liechtenstein portrait is that of a young *fiancée*, and in view of the juniper (*ginepro*) on the front and back, and that the girl may well be only in her seventeenth year,⁵ the girl repre-

¹ Sir Claude Phillips in *Daily Telegraph*, October 7, 1911.

² Müntz (1898), McCurdy (1907), von Seidlitz (1909), &c.

³ Bode, Müntz, von Seidlitz, &c. (But see last paragraph.)

⁴ "Zeitschrift," 1903, ii. 274.

⁵ Miss Cruttwell thinks "it represents a young girl, presumably about twenty" ("Verrocchio," p. 104).

sented is almost certainly Ginevra dei Benci, whose name, moreover, is actually on the Pucci copy. And if Ginevra, why hesitate to recognise it as the very portrait mentioned by the "Anonimo Gaddiano" and Vasari as having been painted by Leonardo da Vinci? In 1473 he would have been twenty-one years old, and the style is perfectly consistent with such a deduction. To invoke Verrocchio's name seems entirely unnecessary, and to think of Lorenzo di Credi sheer heresy.

To embark on a discussion of style and quality is out of place and generally futile; all I can do is to place side by side a portrait by Credi and what I firmly believe to be Leonardo's portrait of Ginevra. Nay more, unless my eyes deceive me, we have in the Plate Forlì portrait the same young girl. Be this as it may, XVII this portrait was long ago identified by Crowe and Cavalcaselle as Credi's work,¹ and is accepted as such by Mr. Berenson,² who calls it an early work. I should be disposed to regard it as even a boyish production inspired by Leonardo's portrait, and possibly a posthumous likeness of the young girl whose early death as a bride must have roused much sympathy throughout Florence.

That the youthful Credi actually imitated Leonardo, his elder fellow-pupil in Verrocchio's studio, is told us definitely by Vasari, and I venture to think we have a most illuminating instance of this in the Forlì portrait. But that Credi painted both is utterly impossible, and the comparison well reveals the difference between youthful talent and youthful genius. Each creation of Leonardo (as I believe) stands alone, united only by an indefinable bond of quality and instinct

¹ iii. p. 413. It is photographed by Alinari under the absurd name of Palmezzano.

² "Florentine Painters," 1900, p. 114.



PORTRAIT PROBABLY OF GINEVRA DEI
BENCI, BY LORENZO DI CREDI. FORLI
GALLERY. ALINARI, PHOTO

with that mysterious spirit of subtle fascination which eludes mere words. Such quality and such spirit I find in the portrait of Ginevra dei Benci in the Liechtenstein Gallery, and I do not hesitate to accept it as the work of Leonardo da Vinci, painted by him at the age of twenty-one.

Since writing the above my attention has been called by the Rev. Emil Möller, of Dortmund, himself an enthusiastic Leonardo student, to an article published in the *Rivista d'Arte*, December 1909, by Signor Carlo Carnesecchi, in which that writer adduces proof that Ginevra dei Benci was still living in 1490. This in no way affects my contention that the Liechtenstein picture is her portrait, and that it is Leonardo's work, but it may enable us to place it a few years later—*i.e.* about 1475–78, when she would have been nineteen to twenty-two years of age, and Leonardo four years older—and Credi's portrait of her, done presumably about the same time, would therefore not be a posthumous likeness. I am glad to see that Signor Carnesecchi shares my opinion about the Liechtenstein picture.

NOTES ON TITIAN

I. DID TITIAN LIVE TO BE NINETY-NINE YEARS OLD?¹

THREE is something fascinating in the popular belief that Titian, the greatest of all Venetian painters, reached the patriarchal age of ninety-nine years, and was actively at work up to the day of his death. The text-books love to tell us the story of the great unfinished *Pietà* with its pathetic inscription :

Quod Titianus inchoatum reliquit
Palma reverenter absolvit
Deoq. dicavit opus ;

and traveller, guide-book in hand, and moralist, philosophy in head, alike muse upon a phenomenon so startlingly at variance with common experience.²

But, sentiment aside, is there any historical evidence that Titian ever worked at his art in his hundredth year? that he even attained such a venerable age? The answer is of wider consequence than the mere question implies, for on the correct determination of Titian's own chronology depends the history of the development of the entire Venetian School of painting in the early years of the sixteenth century. I say *early*, because it is the date of Titian's birth, and not that of his death, which I shall endeavour to fix; the latter event is known beyond possibility of doubt to have occurred in August 1576. The question, therefore, to consider is, what justification, if any, is there for the universal belief that Titian was born in 1476-77, just a hundred years previously?

¹ Reprinted from the *Nineteenth Century*, January 1902.

² The picture now hangs in the Accademia at Venice.

Any one, I think, who has ever looked into the history of Titian's career must have been struck by the fact that for the first thirty-five years of his life (according to the usual chronology) there is absolutely no documentary record relating to him, whether in the Venetian archives or elsewhere. Not a single letter, not a single contract, not a single mention of his name occurs from which we can so much as affirm his existence before the year 1511.

On December 2 in that year "Io tician di Cador Dpñtore" gives a receipt for money paid him on completion of some frescoes at Padua, and from this date on there are frequent letters and documents in existence right down to 1576, the year of his death. Is it not somewhat strange that the first thirty-five years of his life (as is commonly believed) should be a total blank so far as records go? The fact becomes the more inexplicable when we find that during those early years some of his finest work is alleged to have been executed, and he must—if we accept the chronology of his biographers—have been well known to and highly esteemed by his contemporaries.¹ Moreover it is not for want of diligent search amongst the archives that nothing has been found, for Italian and German students have alike sought, but in vain, to discover any documentary evidence relating to his career before 1511.

The absence of any such trustworthy record has had its natural result. Conjecture has run riot, and no two writers are agreed on the subject of the nature and development of Titian's earlier art. This is the second disquieting fact which any careful student has to

¹ e.g. the *Sacred and Profane Love* (so-called) in the Borghese Gallery; the *St. Mark* of the Salute; the *Concert* in the Pitti; the *Tribute Money* at Dresden; the *Madonna of the Cherries* at Vienna, &c., which one or other of his biographers assign to the years 1500–10.

face. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Titian's most exhaustive biographers,¹ have filled up the first thirty-five years of his career in their own way, but their chronology has found no favour with later writers, such as Sir Claude Phillips in England,² or Dr. Georg Gronau in Germany,³ both of whom have arrived at independent conclusions. Morelli again had his theories on the subject, and M. Lafenestre⁴ has his, and the ordinary gallery catalogue is usually content to state inaccurate facts without further ado.

Now if all these conscientious writers arrive at results so widely divergent, either their logic or their data must be wrong! One and all assume that Titian lived into his hundredth year and therefore was born 1476–77, and, starting with this theory as a fact, they have tried to fit in Vasari's account as best they can, and each has found a different solution of the problem. There is only one way out of this chaos of conjectures: we must see what is the evidence for the "centenarian" tradition, and if it can be shown that Titian was really born later than 1476–77, then the silence of all records about him during an alleged period of thirty-five years will become at once more intelligible, and we may be able to explain some of the other anomalies which at present confront Titian's biographers.

I propose to take the evidence in strictly chronological order.

The oldest contemporary account of Titian's career is furnished by Lodovico Dolce in his "L'Aretino, o dialogo della pittura," which was published at Venice in 1557. Dolce knew Titian personally and wrote his

¹ "The Life and Times of Titian," 2 vols. 1881.

² "The Earlier and Later Work of Titian" (*Portfolio*, October 1897 and July 1898).

³ "Tizian," Berlin, 1901.

⁴ "La Vie et l'Œuvre de Titien," Paris, 1886.

treatise just at the time when the painter was at the zenith of his fame. He is our sole authority for certain incidents of Titian's early career ; it will be well, therefore, to quote in full the opening paragraphs of his narrative :

" Being born at Cadore of honourable parents, he was sent when a child of nine years old by his father to Venice to the house of his father's brother . . . in order that he might be put under some proper master to study painting ; his father having perceived in him even at that tender age strong marks of genius towards the art. . . . His uncle directly carried the child to the house of Sebastiano, father of the *gentilissimo* Valerio and of Francesco Zuccati (distinguished masters of the art of mosaic, by them brought to that perfection in which we now see the best pictures), to learn the principles of the art. From them he was removed to Gentile Bellini, brother of Giovanni, but much inferior to him, who at that time was at work with his brother in the Grand Council Chamber. But Titian, impelled by Nature to greater excellence and perfection in his art, could not endure following the dry and laboured manner of Gentile, but designed with boldness and expedition. Whereupon Gentile told him he would make no progress in painting, because he diverged so much from the old style. Thereupon Titian left the stupid (*goffo*) Gentile, and found means to attach himself to Giovanni Bellini ; but not perfectly pleased with his manner, he chose Giorgio da Castel Franco. Titian, then, drawing and painting with Giorgione, as he was called, became in a short time so accomplished in art that when Giorgione was painting the façade of the Fondaco de' Tedeschi, or Exchange of the German merchants, which looks towards the Grand Canal, Titian was allotted the other side which faces the

market-place, being at the time scarcely twenty years old. Here he represented a Judith of wonderful design and colour, so remarkable, indeed, that when the work came to be uncovered, it was commonly thought to be the work of Giorgione, and all the latter's friends congratulated him as being by far the best thing he had produced. Whereupon Giorgione, in great displeasure, replied that the work was from the hand of his pupil, who showed already how he could surpass his master, and (what is more) Giorgione shut himself up for some days at home, as if in despair, seeing that a young man knew more than he did."

Fortunately the exact date can be fixed when the frescoes on the Fondaco de' Tedeschi were painted, for we have original records preserved from which we learn the work was begun in 1507, and completed towards the close of 1508.¹ If Titian then was "scarcely twenty years old" in 1507-8 he must have been born in 1488-89. Dolce particularly emphasises his youthfulness at the time, calling him *un giovanetto*, a phrase he twice applies to him in the next paragraph when he is describing the famous altar-piece of the *Assunta*, the commission for which, as we know from other sources, was given in 1516.

"Not long afterwards he was commissioned to paint a large picture for the High Altar of the Church of the Frati Minori, where Titian, quite a young man (*pur giovanetto*), painted in oil the Virgin ascending to Heaven. . . . This was the first public work which he painted in oil, and he did it in a very short time, and while still a young man (*e giovanetto*)."

This phrase could hardly be applied to a man over

¹ See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, "Titian," i. 85. The fact that Titian's name does not occur in these records is curious and suggestive.

thirty, so that Titian's birth cannot reasonably be dated before 1486 or so, and is much more likely to fall later. The previous deduction that it was 1488–89 is thus further strengthened.

The evidence then of Dolce, writing in 1557, is clear and consistent; Titian was born in 1488–89. Now let us see what is stated by Vasari, who is the next oldest authority.

The first edition of the "Lives" appeared in 1550, that is, just prior to Dolce's "Dialogue," but a revised and enlarged edition appeared in 1568, in which important evidence occurs as to Titian's age. After enumerating certain pictures by the great Venetian, Vasari adds :

(a) "All these works, with many others which I omit, to avoid prolixity, have been executed up to the present age of our artist, which is above seventy-six years. . . . In the year 1566, when Vasari, the writer of the present history, was at Venice, he went to visit Titian, as one who was his friend, and found him, although then very old, still with the pencil in his hand, and painting busily."¹

According to Vasari then Titian was "above seventy-six years" when the second edition of the "Lives" was written, and as from the explicit nature of the evidence this must have been between 1566, when he visited Venice, and January 1568, when his book was published, it follows that Titian was "above seventy-six years" in 1566–67, in other words, that he was born 1489–90.

Still confining ourselves to Vasari, we find two other passages bearing on the question :

(b) "Titian was born in the year 1480 at Cadore."²

¹ Ed. "Sansoni," p. 459. The translation is that of Blashfield and Hopkins. (Bell, 1897.)

² Ed. "Sansoni," p. 425.

(c) "About the year 1507 Giorgione da Castel Franco began to give to his works unwonted softness and relief, painting them in a very beautiful manner. . . . Having seen the manner of Giorgione, Titian early resolved to abandon that of Gian Bellino, although well grounded therein. He now therefore devoted himself to this purpose, and in a short time so closely imitated Giorgione that his pictures were sometimes taken for those of that master. . . . At the time when Titian began to adopt the manner of Giorgione, being then not more than eighteen, he took the portrait, &c."¹

This passage (c) makes Titian "not more than eighteen about the year 1507," and fixes the date of his birth as 1489–90, therein agreeing with the previous deduction at which we arrived when examining the passage in Vasari's second edition. Thus in two places out of three Vasari is consistent in fixing 1489–90 as the date. How then explain (b), which explicitly gives 1480?

Any one conversant with Vasari's inaccuracies will hardly be surprised to find that this statement is dismissed by all Titian's biographers as manifestly a mistake. Moreover it is inconsistent with the two passages just quoted, and either they are wrong or 1480 is a misprint for 1489. Now from the nature of the evidence recorded by Vasari, it cannot be a matter for any doubt which is the more trustworthy statement: on the one hand he speaks as an eye-witness of Titian's old age, and is careful to record the exact year he visited Venice and the age of the painter; on the other hand he makes a bald statement which he certainly cannot have verified, and which is inconsistent with his own experience! In any case in Vasari's text the evidence is two to one in favour of 1489–90 as the

¹ Ed. "Sansoni," p. 428.

right date, and thus we come to the agreeable conclusion that our two oldest authorities, Dolce and Vasari, are at one in fixing Titian's birth between 1488 and 1490—in other words, about 1489.

So far then all is clear, and as we know from later and indisputable evidence that Titian died in 1576, it follows that he only attained the age of eighty-seven and not ninety-nine. Whence then comes the story of the ninety-nine years? From none other than Titian himself, and to this piece of evidence we must next turn, following out a strict chronological order.

In 1571, that is, three years after Vasari's second edition was published, Titian addresses a letter to Philip II. of Spain in these terms:¹

“Most potent and invincible King,—I think your Majesty will have received by this the picture of ‘Lucretia and Tarquin’ which was to have been presented by the Venetian Ambassador. I now come with these lines to ask your Majesty to deign to command that I should be informed as to what pleasure it has given. The calamities of the present times, in which every one is suffering from the continuance of war, force me to this step, and oblige me at the same time to ask to be favoured with some kind proof of your Majesty’s grace, as well as with some assistance from Spain or elsewhere, since I have not been able for years past to obtain any payment either from the Naples grant, or from my ordinary pension. The state of my affairs is indeed such that I do not know how to live in this my old age, devoted as it is entirely to the service of your Catholic Majesty, and to no other. Not having for eighteen years past received a *quattrino* for the paintings which I delivered from time to time,

¹ The translation is that of Crowe and Cavalcaselle, “Titian,” ii. 391. The original is given by them at p. 538.

and of which I forward a list by this opportunity to the secretary Perez, I feel assured that your Majesty's infinite clemency will cause a careful consideration to be made of the services of an old servant of the age of ninety-five, by extending to him some evidence of munificence and liberality. Sending two prints of the design of the Beato Lorenzo, and most humbly recommending myself,

“I am Your Catholic Majesty’s
“most devoted, humble servant,
“TITIANO VECELLIO.

“From Venice, August 1, 1571.”

Here then is Titian himself in the year 1571 declaring that he is ninety-five years of age, in other words, dating his birth back to 1476, that is, some thirteen years earlier than Dolce and Vasari imply was the case. A flagrant discrepancy of evidence! In similar strain he thus addresses the King again five years later:¹

“Your Catholic and Royal Majesty,—The infinite benignity with which your Catholic Majesty—by natural habit—is accustomed to gratify all such as have served and still serve your Majesty faithfully, emboldens me to appear with the present (letter) to recall myself to your royal memory, in which I believe that my old and devoted service will have kept me unaltered. My prayer is this: twenty years have elapsed and I have never had any recompense for the many pictures sent on divers occasions to your Majesty; but having received intelligence by letters from the Secretary Antonio Perez of your Majesty’s wish to gratify me, and having reached a great old age not without privations, I now humbly beg that your Majesty will deign, with accustomed benevolence, to give such

¹ Quoted from Crowe and Cavalcaselle.

directions to ministers as will relieve my want. The glorious memory of Charles the Fifth, your Majesty's father, having numbered me amongst his familiar, nay, most faithful servants, by honouring me beyond my deserts with the title of *cavaliere*, I wish to be able, with the favour and protection of your Majesty—true portrait of that immortal emperor—to support as it deserves the name of a cavaliere, which is so honoured and esteemed in the world ; and that it may be known that the services done by me during many years to the most serene house of Austria have met with grateful return, to spend what remains of my days in the service of your Majesty. For this I should feel the more obliged, as I should thus be consoled in my old age, whilst praying to God to concede to your Majesty a long and happy life with increase of his divine grace and exaltation of your Majesty's kingdom. In the meanwhile I expect from the royal benevolence of your Majesty the fruits of the favour I desire, with due reverence and humility, and kissing your sacred hands,

“I am Your Catholic Majesty’s

“most humble and devoted servant,

“TITIANO VECELLIO.

“From Venice, February 27, 1576.”

This is the last letter we have of Titian, who died in August of this year, according to his own showing in his hundredth year.

Now, what reliance can be placed on this statement ? On the one hand we have the evidence of two independent writers, Dolce and Vasari, both personally acquainted with Titian, and both agreeing by inference that the date of his birth was about 1489. Both had ample opportunity to get at the truth, and Vasari is particularly explicit in recording the exact date when he visited Titian in Venice and the age the painter had

then reached. Yet five years later Titian is found stating that he is ninety-five and not eighty-two as we should expect! Perhaps the best comment is made by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, who significantly remark immediately after the last letter: "Titian's appeal to the benevolence of the King of Spain looks like that of a garrulous old gentleman proud of his longevity, but hoping still to live for many years."¹ Exactly! The occasion could well be improved by a little timely exaggeration well calculated to appeal to the sympathies and "infinite benignity" of the monarch, and if when the writer had actually reached the respectable age of eighty-two he wrote himself down as ninety-five, who would gainsay him? It added point to his appeal, that was the chief thing, and as to accuracy—well, Titian was not the man to be over-scrupulous when his own interests were involved. But even though the statement were not deliberately made to heighten the effect of an appeal, we must in any case make allowances for the natural proneness to exaggerate their age which usually characterises men of advanced years, so that any *ex parte* statement of this kind must be received with due caution. Where, moreover, as in the present case, we have evidence of a directly contradictory kind furnished by independent witnesses, whose declarations in this respect are presumably disinterested, such *ex parte* statements are on the face of them unreliable. The balance of evidence in this case appears to rest on the side of the older historians, Dolce and Vasari, whose statements, as I hold, are in the circumstances more reliable than the picturesque exaggeration of a man of advanced years.

I claim, therefore, that any account of Titian's life based solely on such flimsy evidence as to his age as is found in this letter to Philip II. is, to say the

¹ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, "Titian," ii. 409.

least, open to grave doubt. The whole superstructure raised by modern writers on this uncertain foundation is full of flaws and incongruities, and I am fully persuaded the future historian will have to begin *de novo* in any attempt at a chronological reconstruction of Titian's career. The gap of thirty-five years down to 1511 may prove after all less by twelve or thirteen years than people think, so that the young Titian naturally enough first emerges into view at the age of twenty-two, and not thirty-five.

But we must not anticipate results, for there is still the evidence of the later writers of the seventeenth century to consider. Two of these declare that Titian was born in 1477. The first of these, Tizianello, a collateral descendant of the great painter, published his little "Compendio" in 1622, wherein he gives a sketchy and imperfect biography; the other, Ridolfi, repeats the date in his "Meraviglie dell' Arte," published in 1648. The latter writer is notoriously unreliable in other respects, and it is quite likely this is merely an instance of copying from Tizianello, whose unsupported statement is chiefly of value as showing that the "centenarian" theory had started within fifty years of Titian's death. But again we ask, why should the evidence of a seventeenth-century writer be preferred to the personal testimony of those who actually knew Titian himself, especially when Vasari gives us precise information with which Dolce's independent account is in perfect agreement? No doubt the great age to which Titian certainly attained was exaggerated in the next generation after his death, but it is a remarkable fact that the contemporary eulogies, mostly in poetic form, which appeared on the occasion of his decease do not allude to any such phenomenal longevity.¹

¹ There is a collection of these in a volume in the British Museum.

Nevertheless, Ridolfi's statement that Titian was born in 1477 is commonly quoted as if there were no better and earlier evidence in existence, and indeed it is a matter of surprise that conscientious modern biographers have not looked more carefully at the original authorities, instead of being content to follow tradition, and I must earnestly plead for a reconsideration of the question of Titian's age by the future historians of Venetian painting.¹

If, as I believe, Titian was born in or about 1489, instead of 1476-77, it follows that he must have been Giorgione's junior by at least twelve years—a most important deduction—and it also follows that he cannot have produced any work of consequence before, say, 1505, at the age of sixteen, and he will have died at eighty-seven, and not in his hundredth year. The alteration in date would help to explain the silence of all records about him before 1511, when he would have been only twenty-two, and not thirty-five years old; it would fully account for his name not being mentioned by Dürer in his famous letter of 1506, wherein he refers to the painters of Venice, and it would equally account for the absence of his name from the commission to paint the Fondaco frescoes in 1507-8, for he would have been employed simply as Giorgione's young assistant. The fact that in 1511 he signs himself simply

¹ Before the discovery of the letter to Philip, Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle were quite prepared to admit that Titian was born "after 1480" (*vide* "N. Italian Painting," ii. 119, 120). Unfortunately they took the evidence of the letter as final, but, finding themselves chronologically in difficulties, they shrewdly remark in their "Titian," i. 38, *note*: "The writers of these lines thought, and *still think*, Titian younger than either Giorgione or Palma. They were, however, inclined to transpose Titian's birthday to a later date than 1477, rather than put back those of Palma and Giorgione to an earlier period, and in this they made a mistake." Perhaps they were not so far wrong after all!

“Io tician di Cador Dpñtore,” and not *Maestro*, would be more intelligible in a young man of twenty-two than in an accomplished master of thirty-five, and the character of his letter addressed to the Senate in 1513 would be more natural to an ambitious aspirant of twenty-four than to a man in his maturity at thirty-seven.¹

Such are some of the obvious results of a change of date, but the larger question as to the development of Titian’s art must be left to the future historian; for the importance of fixing a date lies in the application thereof.²

THE DATE OF TITIAN’S BIRTH³

In the January number of the *Nineteenth Century* appears an article by Herbert Cook under the title “Did Titian Live to be Ninety-nine Years Old?” The interrogative already suggests that the author comes to a negative conclusion. It is perhaps not without interest to set forth the reasons advanced by the English connoisseur and to submit them to adverse criticism. (Here follows an abstract of the article.)

¹ For this amusing letter see Crowe and Cavalcaselle, “Titian,” i. p. 153.

² The evidence afforded by Titian’s own portraits of himself (at Berlin and in the Uffizi) is inconclusive, as we do not know the exact years they were painted. The portrait at Madrid, painted 1562, might represent a man of seventy-three or eighty-six, it is hard to say which. But there is a woodcut of 1550 (*vide* Gronau, p. 164) which surely shows Titian at the age of sixty-one rather than seventy-four, and finally Paul Veronese’s great *Marriage at Cana* (in the Louvre), which was painted between June 1562 and September 1563, distinctly points to Titian being then a man of seventy-four and not eighty-seven. He is represented, as is well known, seated in the group of musicians in the centre, and playing the contrabasso.

³ Reply by Dr. Georg Gronau, published in the “Repertorium für Kunsthissenschaft,” vol. xxiv. sixth part. (Authorised translation.)

The reasoning, as will have been seen, is not altogether free from doubt. It has been usual hitherto in historical investigations to call in question the assertions of a man about his own life only when thoroughly weighty reasons justified such a course. Is the evidence of a Dolce and of a Vasari so free from all objection that it outweighs Titian's personal statement? Before answering this question it should be pointed out that we possess two further statements of contemporary writers on the subject of Titian's age, statements which have escaped the notice of Mr. Cook. One is to be found in a letter from the Spanish Consul in Venice, Thomas da Cornoça, to Philip II., dated December 6, 1567 (published in the very important work by Zarco del Valle¹). After informing the King of Titian's usual requests on the subject of his pension, and so on, he continues : "y con los 85 annos de su edad servira à V.M. hasta la muerte."

Somewhere then in the very year in which Titian, according to Vasari, was "above seventy-six years of age," he seems to have been eighty-five, according to the report of another and quite independent witness ; and if so he would have been born about 1482.

We have then three definite statements :

Vasari (1566 or 1567)	says	"over 76."
The Consul (1567)	"	85.
Titian himself (1571)	"	95.

This new information, instead of helping us, only serves to make still greater confusion.

The other piece of evidence not mentioned by Mr. Cook was written only a few years after Titian's death. Borghini says in his "Riposo" (1584) : "Mori

¹ "Jahrbuch der Sammlungen des A. H. Kaiserhauses," 1888, vii. p. 221 ff.

ultimamente di vecchiezza (! not then of the plague ?), essendo d'età d'anni 98 o 99, l'anno 1576. . . ." This is the first time that the traditional statement as to the master's age appears in literature. In this state of things it is worth while to look closer into the evidence of Dolce and Vasari to see if they are not after all the most trustworthy witnesses.

It is always held to be a mistake to take rather vague statements quite literally, as Mr. Cook has done, and to build thereon further conclusions. When Dolce says that Titian painted with Giorgione at the Fondaco "non avendo egli allora appena venti anni," he is only trying to make out that his hero, here as everywhere, was a most unusual person: (the whole dialogue is a glorification of the master). For the same reason he makes the following remark which we can absolutely prove to be false: the *Assumption* (he says) "fu la prima opera pubblica, che a olio facesse." Now at least one work of Titian's was then already to be seen in a public place, viz. the *St. Mark enthroned with Four Saints*, in Santo Spirito, afterwards removed to the Sacristy of the Salute. In other points too Dolce can be convicted of small errors and misrepresentations, partly on literary grounds, partly due to his desire to enhance the praise of Titian.

Vasari again should only be cited as witness when he speaks of works of art which he has actually seen. In such a case, apart from slips, he is always a trustworthy guide. Directly, however, he goes into biographical details or questions of chronology, accuracy becomes nearly always a secondary matter. Titian's biography offers an excellent and most instructive example of this. Vasari mentions first the birth and upbringing of the boy, then speaks of Giorgione and the Fondaco frescoes and goes on: "dopo la quale opera fece un quadro grande che oggi è nella sala di messer

Andrea Loredano. . . . Dopo in casa di messer Giovanni D'Anna . . . fece il suo ritratto . . . ; ed un quadro di Ecce Homo, . . ." and he goes on : "L'anno poi 1507. . . ." If it had not been that one of these pictures once in possession of Giovanni D'Anna had been preserved (now in the Vienna Gallery) and that it bears in a conspicuous place the date 1543, it would be recorded in all biographies of Titian that he painted in 1507 an *Ecce Homo* for this Giovanni D'Anna.

If one goes further into Vasari's account we read that Titian published his *Triumph of Faith* in 1508. "Dopo condottosi Tiziano a Vicenza, dipinse a fresco sotto la loggetta . . . il giudizio di Salamone. Appresso tornato a Venezia, dipinse la facciata de' Grimani; e in Padoa nella chiesa di Sant' Antonio alcune storie . . . de fatti di quel Santo: e in quella di Santo Spirito fece . . . un San Marco a sedere in mezzo a certi Santi." We now know on documentary evidence that the Vicenza fresco (which was destroyed later) dated from 1521, and similarly that the frescoes at Padua were painted in 1511, whilst the date of the St. Mark picture may be fixed with probability at 1504.

These examples prove how inexact Vasari is here once more. But, it may be objected, supposing that he is inaccurate in statements which refer back, can he not be in the right in a case where he comes back, so to speak, straight from visiting Titian and writes down his observation about the master's actual age? To be sure; but when we find that so many other similar notices of Vasari are wrong, even those that refer to people whom he personally knew, we lose faith altogether. In turning over the leaves of the sixth volume of the Sansoni edition of Vasari in which only his contemporaries, some of them closely connected too

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with him, are spoken of, we find the following incorrect statements :

- P. 99. Tribolo was 65 years old (in reality only 50).
- P. 209. Bugiardini died at 75 (really 79).
- P. 288. Pontormo at 65 (he died actually in his 63rd year).
- P. 564. Giovanni da Udine at 70 (really 77).

A still more glaring instance is to be found when Vasari not only makes misstatements about his own life, but is actually out by several years in giving his own age. One and the same event, viz. his journey with Cardinal Passerini to Florence, is given in his own autobiography to the year 1524, in the life of Salviati to the year 1523, and in the life of Michael Angelo to 1525. When he speaks of himself in the same passage in the life of Salviati as the "putto, che allora non aveva più di nove anni," he is making a mistake of at least three years in his own age. And not less delightful is it to read in the life of Giovanni da Udine: "Giorgio Vasari, giovinetto di diciotto anni, quando serviva il duca Alessandro de' Medici suo primo signore l'anno 1535." We are obviously not dealing with Messer Giorgio's strongest point, for as a matter of fact he was at that time twenty-four years of age ! The same false statement of age is found again in his own biography (vii. p. 656, with the variation "poco più di diciotto anni").

But I think these instances suffice to prove how little one dare build on such assertions of Vasari. Who dare say if Titian was really only seventy-six in 1566 when the Aretine visited him ?

And now a few remarks on the other points raised by Mr. Cook. As a fact it is an astonishing thing that we have no documentary evidence about Titian before 1511 ; but does he not share this fate with very many of his great countrymen, with the Bellini, Giorgione,

Sebastiano and others? An unfriendly chance has left us entirely in the dark as to the early years of nearly all the great Venetian painters. That Dürer makes no mention of Titian's name in his letters gives no cause for surprise, for even the most celebrated of the younger artists, Giorgione, is not alluded to, and of all those with Bellini, whose fame outshone even then that of all others, only Barbari is mentioned. That Titian's name does not occur in the documents about the Fondaco frescoes may be due to the fact that Giorgione alone was commissioned to undertake the frescoes for the magistrates, and that the latter painter in his turn brought his associate Titian into the work.

Mr. Cook says that Titian still signs himself in 1511 "dipintore" instead of "Maestro." I am not aware whether in this respect definite regulations or customs were usual in Venice.¹ At any rate the painter is still described in official documents as late as 1518 as "ser Tizian depentor" (Lorenzi, *Monumenti* No. 366), when, even according to Mr. Cook's theory, he must have been thirty years old, and he is actually so called in 1528 (*ib.* No. 403) after appearing in several intermediate documents as "maistro" (Nos. 373, 377). If this argument, however, proves unsound, the last point, viz. that the well-known petition to the Senate in 1513 sounds more like that of a man of twenty-four than one of thirty-seven, must be left to the hypotheses of individual conjecture.

Must we really close these very long inquiries by confessing they are beyond our ken? It almost seems so. For with regard to the testimony afforded by

¹ Dr. Ludwig had the kindness to write me on this subject: "Among the thousands of signatures of painters which I have seen I have never come across the signature 'Maestro.' Of course some one else can describe a painter as Master; he himself always describes himself 'pittor,' 'pictor,' or 'depentor.'"

family documents, Dr. Jacobi (whose labours were utilised by Crowe and Cavalcaselle) so conscientiously examined all that is left that a discovery in this direction is not to be looked for. Is the statement of Tizianello that Titian's year of birth was 1477 to be rejected without further question, when we remember that as a relative of the painter he could have had in 1622 access to documents possibly since lost?

Under these circumstances the only thing left to do is to question the works of Titian. Of these two can be dated, not indeed with certainty, but with some degree of probability: the dedicatory painting of the Bishop of Pesaro with the portrait of Alexander VI. of 1502-3, and the picture of St. Mark already mentioned of the year 1504. To judge by the style, both are clearly early works, and both can be connected with definite historical events of the years just mentioned. That these paintings, however, could be the works of a fourteen- to fifteen-year-old artist Mr. Cook will also admit to be impossible.

Much, far too much, in the story of Venetian painting must for want of definite information be left to conjecture; and however unsatisfactory it is, we must make this confession, that we know as little about the date of the birth of the greatest of the Venetians as we know of Giorgione's, Sebastiano's, Palma's and the rest. But supposing all of a sudden information turned up giving us the exact date of Titian's birth, would the picture of the development of Venetian painting be any the different for it? In no wise. The relation to one another of the individual artists of the younger generation is so clearly to be read in each man's work that no external particulars, however interesting they might be on other grounds, could make the smallest difference. Titian's relations with Giorgione especially could not be otherwise represented than has been long determined,

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and that whether Titian were born in 1476, 1477, 1480 or even two or three years later.¹

GEORG GRONAU.

WHEN WAS TITIAN BORN?²

I must thank Dr. Georg Gronau for his very fair reply, published in these pages,³ to my article in the *Nineteenth Century* on the subject of Titian's age.⁴ He has also most kindly pointed out two pieces of contemporary evidence which had escaped my notice, and although neither of these passages is conclusive proof one way or the other, they deserve to be reckoned with in arriving at a decision.

Dr. Gronau formulates the evidence shortly thus :

Vasari in 1566 or 1567 says	Titian is over	76;
The Spanish Consul in 1567 "	" "	85;
Titian himself in 1571 "	he is	95;

and he adds that this new piece of evidence, viz. the letter of the Spanish Consul to King Philip, instead of helping us, only makes the confusion worse.

What then are we to think when yet another—a fourth—contemporary statement turns up, differing from any of the three just quoted? Yet such a letter exists, and I am happy in my turn to point out this fresh piece of evidence, in the hope that instead of

¹ Dr. Gronau further points out (in a letter recently sent to the writer) that Titian, writing to the Emperor in 1545, says: "I should have liked to take them [*i.e.* the paintings] to your Majesty in person, but that my age and the length of the journey forbade such a course." (C. and C., ii. 103.) Writing also in 1548 to Granvella, he refers to his "vechia vita." Would not such expressions (asks Dr. Gronau) be more applicable to a man of sixty-eight and seventy-one respectively than to one of only fifty-six and fifty-nine?

² Reply to Dr. Gronau. (Reprinted from "Repertorium für Kunswissenschaft," vol. xxv. Parts I. and II.)

³ XXIV. Band, 6 Heft, p. 457.

⁴ January 1902, pp. 123–30.

making the confusion worse, it will help us to arrive at some decision.

On October 15, 1564, Garcia Hernandez, Envoy in Venice from King Philip II., writes to the King his Master that Titian begged that his Majesty would condescend to order that he should be paid what was due to him from the court and from Milan. . . . For the rest the painter was in fine condition, and quite capable of work, and this was the time, if ever, to get "other things" from him, as, according to some people who knew him, Titian was about ninety years old, though he did not show it, and for money everything was to be had of him.¹

In 1564 then the Spanish Envoy writes that Titian was said to be about ninety. Let us then enlarge Dr. Gronau's table by this additional statement, and further complete it by including the earliest piece of evidence, the statement of Dolce in 1557 that Titian was scarcely twenty when he worked at the Fondaco de' Tedeschi frescoes (1507-8). The year of Titian's birth thus works out :

Writing in 1557,	Dolce makes out Titian was born about	1489.
" " 1566-67, Vasari	" " "	1489.
" " 1564, Spanish Envoy	" " "	1474.
" " 1567, Spanish Consul	" " "	1482.
" " 1571, Titian himself	he "	1476.

Now it is curious to notice that the last three statements are all made in letters to King Philip, either by Titian himself, or at his request by the Spanish agents.

It is curious to notice these statements as to Titian's great age occur in begging letters.²

¹ Quoted from Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. 344. The Spanish original is given at p. 535.

² I have quoted Titian's letter in full in the *Nineteenth Century*. That of the Spanish Consul is given in the "Jahrbuch der Samm-

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It is curious to notice they are mutually contradictory.

What are we to conclude?

Surely that the Spanish Envoy, the Spanish Consul and Titian himself out of their own mouths stand convicted of inconsistency of statement, and further that they betray an identical motive underlying each representation, viz. an appeal *ad misericordiam*.

Before however contrasting the value of the evidence as found in these Spanish letters with the evidence as found in Dolce and Vasari, let us note two points in these letters.

Garcia Hernandez, the Spanish Envoy, writes : "According to some people who knew him Titian was about ninety years old, though he did not show it." Now if Titian was really about ninety in the year 1564, he would have lived to the age of one hundred and two, a feat of longevity of which no one has ever accused him ! Apart therefore from the healthy scepticism which Hernandez betrays in this letter we may certainly conclude that "some people who knew him" were exaggerating Titian's age.

Secondly, Titian's letter of 1571 says he is ninety-five years old. Titian's similar letter of 1576, the year of his death, omits to say he is one hundred. Surely a strange omission, considering that he refers to his old age three times in this one letter.¹ Does not

lungen des A. H. Kaiserhauses," VII. p. 221, from which I extract the passage : "El dicho Ticiano besa pies y manos de V. M., y suplica umilmente a V. M. mande le sea pagado lo que le ha corrido de las pensiones de que V. M. le tiene echo merced en Milan y en esa corte, y la trata de Napoles, y con los 85 años de su edad servira a V. M. hasta la muerte."

¹ I have quoted this letter also in full in the *Nineteenth Century*. I am indebted to M. Salomon Reinach for making this point (*Chronique des Arts*, February 15, 1902, p. 53, where he expresses himself a convert to my views).

the second letter correct the inexactness of the first, and so Titian's statement go for nothing?

The collective evidence then of these Spanish letters amounts to this, that in the words of the Envoy "for money everything was to be had of Titian," and accordingly any statement as to his great age when thus made for effect must be treated with the greatest suspicion.

But is the evidence of Dolce and Vasari any more trustworthy? Dr. Gronau is at pains to show that both these writers often made mistakes in their dates, a fact which no one can dispute. Their very incorrectness is the more reason, however, for trusting them in this instance, for they happen to agree about the date of Titian's birth; and although neither of them expressly gives the year 1489, they indicate separate and independent events in his life, the one, Dolce, at the beginning, the other, Vasari, at the end, which when looked into give the same result.

Moreover be Dolce ever so anxious to cry up his hero Titian, and make him out to have been precocious, and be Vasari ever so inexact in his chronology, we must remember that when both of them wrote, the presumption of unusual longevity had not arisen, and that their evidence therefore is less likely to be prejudiced in this respect than the evidence given in obituary notices, such as occurs in Borghini's "Riposo" of 1584, and in the later writers like Tizianello and Ridolfi.

That Borghini therefore says Titian was ninety-eight or ninety-nine when he died, and that Tizianello and Ridolfi, thirty-eight and sixty-four years later respectively, put him down at ninety-nine, is by no means proof that such was the case. It would seem that there had been some speculation before and after Titian's death as to his exact age; that no one quite knew for certain;

and that Titian with the credulousness of old age had come to regard himself as well-nigh a centenarian. Be this as it may, I still hold that the evidence of Dolce and Vasari that Titian's birth occurred in 1489 is more trustworthy than either the evidence found in the three Spanish letters, or the evidence as given in the obituary notices of Borghini and others.

One word more. If Titian was born in 1489 instead of 1476–77, it does make a great difference in the story of his own career, and what is more, the history of Venetian art in the early sixteenth century as it centres round Giorgione, Palma and Titian will have to be carefully reconsidered.

II. THE "ARIOSTO" IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY¹

NOW that several English experts have expressed their opinion on the subject of the new £30,000 picture recently bought for the National Gallery, it might be well to summarise these views and see how far they agree with the official or popular designation of the picture as the "Portrait of Ariosto by Titian."

Two problems arise. (1) Is the portrait that of Ariosto? (2) Is it painted by Titian? On the first point Sir Claude Phillips publishes, in the current number of the *Art Journal*, a carefully reasoned judgment that the portrait is that of the Barbarigo gentleman mentioned by Vasari as having been painted by Titian at the age of eighteen. In this he adopts my own view, published some five years ago, when the picture yet hung at Cobham Hall.²

Mr. Roger Fry, in the *Burlington Magazine* for November, comes to a negative decision that it cannot be either Ariosto or Barbarigo, founding, however, his objection to the latter identification chiefly on a previous article written by Sir Claude Phillips, which that writer now modifies in the *Art Journal*, as quoted above. On the other hand, Sir Walter Armstrong puts it forward as his opinion that the portrait is that of Ariosto.³ The material for comparison with authenticated likenesses of the poet is opportunely published by Mr. Roger Fry in the *Burlington Magazine* for November, and confirms me so far in my previous belief that it is not Ariosto.

¹ Reprinted from the *Athenæum*, January 21, 1905.

² *Vide "Giorgione"* (Bell's "Great Masters" Series), p. 70.

³ *Portfolio* monograph on the "Peel Collection," 1905, p. 24.



THE SO-CALLED "ARIOSTO BY TITIAN"
NATIONAL GALLERY. HANFSTÄGL, PHOTO

We arrive, then, at this result—that three out of four modern English writers who have specially studied the question agree that it is not Ariosto, and two out of the three think that it is Barbarigo. As, however, this identification is somewhat dependent on the answer to the second question—Is it painted by Titian?—it is necessary to pass on at once to this consideration.

No writer, so far as I am aware, had raised this question previously to myself in 1900, when I claimed Giorgione for the author. "It may be," I wrote, "that Titian felt justified in adding his signature on the plea of something he did to it in after years; but, explain this as we may, the important point to recognise is that, in all essential particulars, the 'Ariosto' is the creation, not of Titian, but of Giorgione."

So the matter rested till the picture was bought—always, of course, as a Titian—and Mr. Roger Fry was then the first to consider the question carefully from this point of view. His decision is thus given:¹ "It seems to me that Mr. Cook's theory is not altogether impossible. But I should say that in any case the share of Titian, both in the painting and the final fusion of the whole into the precious and rare colour-harmony which we now enjoy, is larger than Mr. Cook suggests."

Then comes Sir Claude Phillips, in the current number of the *Art Journal*, bravely maintaining the traditional view that Titian, and not Giorgione, is the painter. Sir Walter Armstrong merely alludes to the alternative view, without apparently deciding which to favour.²

Perhaps I may be allowed to record my present opinion, which has been somewhat modified by later

¹ *Burlington Magazine*, November 1904, p. 137.

² *Portfolio*, 1905, p. 25.

study of the intricate question of Titian's real age. For here, as I believe, lies the key to the solution. Let me, then, state my firm conviction that Titian was born, not in 1477, as commonly supposed, but some twelve years later—*i.e.* about 1489. Now, assuming (with Sir Claude Phillips) that the style of painting in our new picture points to the years 1505–8, we see that Titian was sixteen to nineteen years old at the time, and I quite agree too young to have achieved such a splendid result. Nevertheless there is the signature TITIANVS, the authenticity of which is indisputable. But, as has often been pointed out, this form came into use first about 1520, for in his earlier time the painter invariably put TICIANVS. The conclusion is inevitable. Titian signed a picture about 1520 that had been painted 1505–8 by some one else. Who? and why? Here comes in Mr. Roger Fry's analysis,¹ which convinces him that two hands have been at work—Giorgione's (following my opinion) and Titian's. But why should Titian finish Giorgione's work? and why should he sign it thus?

The explanation is perfectly simple. Giorgione was cut off by the plague at the early age of thirty-three, just at the height of his career, and it is quite natural to assume that he left behind him a good deal of work in various states of incompletion. Now we know that the young Titian was associated with his master on the frescoes at the Fondaco de' Tedeschi in 1508, and history has always connected the two young artists in the closest bonds of fellowship. What more likely than that Titian should have acted, so to speak, as Giorgione's artistic executor? And proof of this is forthcoming in the statement of the "Anonimo" that Titian finished Giorgione's *Venus* (now at Dresden), and that he retouched a *Pietà* (not identified). The

¹ *Burlington Magazine*, November 1904.

same authority also tells us that Giorgione’s *Three Philosophers* (or rather Æneas, Evander and Pallas, now at Vienna) was finished by Sebastiano del Piombo, Titian’s fellow-pupil. These instances go to show, in my opinion, that there must have been a number of unfinished canvases on the easel at the date of Giorgione’s unexpected death, and that the two young assistants, Titian and Sebastiano, aged respectively twenty-one and twenty-five, took over these works for ultimate completion. I say ultimate, because, as a matter of fact, Sebastiano departed almost immediately for Rome, where he remained many years, and Titian was certainly away from Venice a good part of 1511, painting his frescoes in Padua. It is infinitely probable, therefore, that some of Giorgione’s pictures remained unfinished for some years, even as late as 1520, when Titian came to sign himself TITIANVS. Such I believe to be the case with the “Ariosto.” Begun about 1507 by Giorgione, and left unfinished at his death in 1510, it was completed some ten years later by Titian (at the age of thirty-one). As to the respective share of each in the result, I am quite of Mr. Roger Fry’s opinion that Giorgione painted the head, and that the conception of the whole thing is his, and that Titian painted the superb sleeve and put on those finishing touches which would justify him in putting his signature to it. The history of the Crespi Schiavona (or, as I prefer to call it, the *Portrait of Caterina Cornaro*) is precisely the same, and the signature TIT . . . v. to be explained in the same way.¹ And I go further, and state my opinion that, signature or no, there is a category of such joint productions by Giorgione and Titian, invariably ascribed

¹ The signature must be read thus, and not as single letters T. V. (Titianus Vecellio). This was rightly pointed out by a writer in the *Times*, October 24, 1901. The superb portrait has recently been sold out of the Crespi Gallery, and its fate is unknown to me.

by force of circumstances to the latter, and that herein lies the clue to the oft-recurring problem, Giorgione or Titian?¹

We now see how significantly Vasari's words read when he states that Titian took the portrait of his friend, one of the Barbarigo family, and that it would have been taken for Giorgione's work if Titian had not signed his name on it. Naturally, and that, as Sir Claude Phillips suggests, may have been the very reason why Titian did put his name on it.

I conclude, therefore, that we have in our new picture the very portrait mentioned by Vasari, viz. *A Gentleman of the Barbarigo Family*, that it was painted by Giorgione about 1507, and finished by Titian about 1520, when the signature was added, as duly seen and recorded by Vasari, some twenty-five years later. That Giorgione's share in its inception had already been forgotten is nothing strange when we see Vasari, in his second edition of 1568, actually registering the *Christ dragged to Calvary* (in S. Rocco in Venice) under Titian's name, when in his first edition of 1550 he had rightly ascribed it to Giorgione.

One word more. The whole of this period of Venetian art will have to be carefully reconsidered by art historians on the basis of Titian's birth falling, not in 1477, but in 1489, and on the assumption of a Giorgione-cum-Titian authorship of a good many famous paintings now exclusively assigned to Titian. Until these data are accepted, our knowledge of this period will remain in the state of confusion and uncertainty which at present characterises all writings on the subject.²

¹ Dr. Gronau has already hinted at this solution in the vexed question of the Pitti *Concert*.

² I need only cite the varied chronology of Titian's earliest works as given by such competent writers as Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Morelli, Lafenestre, Claude Phillips, Gronau and Ricketts.

III. THE IDENTIFICATION OF A PAINTER'S PORTRAIT: THE PORTRAIT OF ANTONIO PALMA BY TITIAN¹

IN order to establish the attribution of a picture to a given painter one at least of the following conditions must be fulfilled :

(i) The picture must bear the genuine signature of the artist.

(ii) The picture must so completely agree in style with other authentic works of the artist as to betray a common origin ; in short, it must be "signed all over."

(iii) The hypothesis of its authenticity must be the *only* explanation which will satisfy certain ascertained external evidence.²

Of these conditions the first affords the most entirely satisfactory proof to the ordinary observer, whilst to the trained eye condition number two is paramount.³ Number three affords unlimited scope for the logician, where the ultimate appeal is not to the eye, but to the reason. There may be further all kinds of combinations of evidence, as in the complicated case of the new "Ariosto Titian," where two painters appear to have been at work ; indeed there is no limit to the possible intricacy which the problem may offer.

I do not now propose enlarging on the science, still

¹ Reprinted from the *Burlington Magazine*, March 1905.

² Documentary evidence is only admissible as proof positive when borne out by the independent testimony of the picture itself.

³ So much is this the case that where signature and style flagrantly conflict the signature may be regarded as a forgery. The frequent monogram AD. on paintings that have nothing to do with Albert Dürer is a case in point.

less the art, of connoisseurship by discussing all these conditions. Such a subject would require a treatise. Suffice it if we deal for the moment with the question of genuine signatures. Now an artist may sign his work in several ways, either by putting his name or monogram on the painting, or by introducing some symbol or emblem which may or may not bear direct allusion to his name. The name or monogram is of course the most frequent form of signature, and for that very reason the most often forged. Hundreds of instances could be adduced of this, and that is why condition number one reads, "The picture must bear the *genuine* signature of the artist." The other form of signature, that is, the emblem or symbol, is far less frequent, and generally occurs in cases where the artist's name readily lends itself to a pictorial treatment. Instances of this are Mazo's "hammer," Dosso's "bone," Garofalo's "pink," Pieter de Ryng's "ring"; whilst as instances of caprice we may cite Cranach's "crowned serpent," Barbari's "caduceus," and Herri de Bles' "owl." Whistler's "butterfly" is really a monogram.

The identification of the portrait here made for the first time shows that Titian in portraying the person of a contemporary artist, Antonio Palma, did not hesitate to give a clue to the identity of his sitter by introducing a palm branch and a paint box. The Dresden portrait illustrates of course the very common practice, especially in Italian art, of associating the person represented with some pictorial accessory bearing allusion to his name, a practice, we may remark, which affords the modern investigator scope for much ingenuity, and offers a fruitful field of research to some to whom the loftier regions of connoisseurship may be inaccessible. In our own national collection there are several such puzzles, one

of which at all events has exercised the minds of earnest students as keenly as any double acrostic—I mean Holbein's *Ambassadors*; whilst scarcely less entertaining problems are offered by Moretto's *Nobelman* (No. 299) and Palma's *Poet* (No. 636). The persons here represented are all provided liberally with accessories doubtless intended to disclose to the initiated the identity of the owner, and many elaborate and ingenious theories have been constructed on the subject of these portraits. A far simpler means of identification exists in the case of those portraits which appear with letters addressed to themselves, e.g. the *Marco Barbarigo* in the Flemish Room (No. 696), or in the scarcely less obvious case where an Agatha, a Margaret, or a Magdalen is transformed into her homonymous saint. Instances of this occur in Sebastiano del Piombo's *Portrait of a Lady* (No. 24), in the newly acquired Zurbaran, and in the two *Mary Magdalens* in the Flemish Room (Nos. 654, 655).¹

The introduction of accessories in a portrait is therefore constantly, if not always, intended to give a clue to the identity of the person represented, and this I believe is also the case in the magnificent Titian from the Dresden Gallery here reproduced. It is one of the

Plate
xix

¹ Besides the many instances of a Laura with the laurel, and a Catherine (generally and gratuitously miscalled Caterina Cornaro) with the emblems of St. Catherine, there is one remarkable case worth calling special attention to because one of Leonardo's portraits is concerned. Dr. Bode has recently been able to substantiate his belief that the wonderful portrait in the Liechtenstein Gallery at Vienna is a genuine work of Leonardo's early time by identifying the lady as Ginevra dei Benci, whose portrait by Leonardo is mentioned by Vasari. This identification rests partly on the *juniper* bush (*ginepro*) which is so conspicuous a feature in the background. (See "Zeitschrift," 1903.) With this conclusion I entirely agree, notwithstanding the arguments adduced by Miss Cruttwell, the recent biographer of Verrocchio, in favour of the latter's authorship. (See *antea*, p. 40.)

greatest of Titian's portraits, supremely simple and dignified in conception, and amazingly accomplished in handling. The painter himself was evidently proud of his work, for he has added quite a long inscription and his title in full:

MDLXI
ANNO NATVS
AETATIS SVAE XLVI.
TITIANVS PICTOR ET
AEQVES CAESARIS.

Now in 1561 Titian was, as I believe, seventy-two years of age,¹ so that it is clear that the third line of the inscription refers, not to himself, but to the person represented (as indeed is obvious from his apparent age). This person then was born in 1515. Further, he carries a palm branch, and on the window-sill lies a box of paints with an instrument apparently for prizing up the separate colours. But why should a painter bear a palm, the symbol of martyrdom? Why, if he be a martyr, has he no halo? The reason is clear. He is no martyred saint, but a well-known and worthy citizen named Palma, and a painter by profession. And here our archivists come to the rescue! for given his name, profession and date, it only remains to find the documents which fit the case. Fortunately this has already been done, and Dr. Gustav Ludwig has discovered and published all that is so far known about this very Palma.²

He is not the Palma "Vecchio" that we all know, or even the Palma "Giovine" that we often undervalue, but he is a certain Antonio Palma, nephew of

¹ Assuming that he was born in 1489. If, however, the conventional view be taken that he was born in 1477, he would have been eighty-four when he painted this portrait.

² In the "Jahrbuch," 1901, p. 184.

PLATE XIX



PORTRAIT OF ANTONIO PALMA. BY
TITIAN. DRESDEN GALLERY. TAMME, PHOTO

the first and father of the second. His existing works that are signed are but two, one a processional flag, dated 1565, now at Serinalta, the other a *Resurrection* in the gallery of Stuttgart, wherein he shows himself a close follower of Bonifazio. The documents relating to him are very few, but from one of the year 1524 we learn that he was not yet eligible for a certain position the qualifying age for which was fourteen, and in another document of 1554 he is called "depentor celebre." Dr. Ludwig concludes from the first that his birth may be put "about 1510-12," but we may remark there is no objection to its having been 1515, that being the date of birth deduced from the inscription in our picture. We know from another document this Palma was still alive in 1575, and when Titian painted his fellow-artist in 1561 the latter was still doubtless "depentor celebre."

All this fits admirably with our picture, and leaves scarcely room for doubt but that the *Unknown Man* in the Dresden Gallery whom Titian has delighted to honour is his fellow-artist Antonio Palma.¹

¹ This view has now been officially adopted in the latest edition (1908) of the Dresden catalogue.

IV. THE TRUE PORTRAIT OF LAURA DE' DIANTI BY TITIAN¹

Plate
xx

VASARI, in his "Life of Titian," after referring to the portrait of Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, painted by the artist in his early-middle career, goes on to say : "Similmente ritrasse la signora Laura che fu poi moglie di quel duca ; che è opera stupenda."² Both these portraits are commonly supposed to be lost, or rather to have survived only in copies ; that of the Duke hanging in the Pitti Gallery at Florence,³ that of the Duchess Laura existing in some half dozen versions scattered about Europe.

Plate
xxi

Whether or no the Pitti picture is an old copy or a defaced original I have not been able to ascertain, for it hangs high up in a dark corner of one of the smaller rooms, where it is practically impossible to examine it ; but the same doubt must no longer exist about the portrait of Laura de' Dianti, the Duke's third wife, for the original to-day hangs in Sir Frederick Cook's gallery at Richmond.

We are indebted to H.E. Baron de Bildt for the following criticism of this picture published in the last December number of the *Nineteenth Century*, in the course of a most interesting article on "Queen Christina's Pictures" :⁴

"Sir Frederick Cook's gallery in Richmond," he writes, "gives its splendid hospitality to one of the gems of Rudolph the Second's and Christina's Collec-

¹ Reprinted from the *Burlington Magazine*, September 1905.

² Vasari, vii. 435.

³ Another copy belongs to Sir Henry Howorth in London.

⁴ *Nineteenth Century*, December 1904.

PLATE XX



PORTRAIT OF LAURA DE' DIANTI. BY
TITIAN. COLLECTION OF SIR FREDERICK
COOK, RICHMOND. GRAY, PHOTO



PORTRAIT OF ALPHONSO OF FERRARA
AFTER TITIAN. PITTI GALLERY, FLORENCE
ALINARI, PHOTO

tions—Titian's famous *L'Esclavonne*. It is now generally presumed to be a portrait of Laura de' Dianti, the beloved mistress of Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara. At Prague it was called *A Turkish Woman*, probably on account of the head-dress, while at Rome it became known as *La Schiavona*—a name it is likely to retain. There are several copies in existence, the best known in the museum at Modena, and hypercritical judges have not been wanting who have declared the Richmond picture also to be a copy—after a lost original. It has, however, a broadness of touch which is scarcely ever found in a copy, and a transparency in the shadows which seems to mark it as the handiwork of Titian himself. The picture has suffered some slight damage during its journeys, but it still remains a thing of joy and beauty. It has besides the advantage of being most appropriately framed."

It is a far cry from Vasari to modern times, yet in the intervening three hundred and fifty years no other criticism of this painting is known to us, although its history can be accurately traced. Extremes therefore meet; "è opera stupenda," said Vasari; "it still remains a thing of joy and beauty" is the verdict of to-day.

I propose, first, to trace the history of the picture itself; secondly, to identify the person represented; thirdly, to consider its merit as a work of art. For the first point I must rely mainly on the excellent article, just mentioned, written by Baron de Bildt; for the second on an exhaustive study published some years ago in a German periodical by Dr. Carl Justi;¹ for the third on the expert opinion of modern English critics best qualified to judge.

First, as to the history of the picture.

¹ "Jahrbuch," xx. p. 183.

It is rarely that the pedigree of a painting dating from the early years of the sixteenth century can be traced as accurately as in the present case. Painted by Titian for Alfonso d'Este¹ about 1523, it was engraved by Sadeler in Venice² and copied by Lodovico Carracci before it left the Este family in 1599.³ In that year Cesare d'Este sent it as a present to Rudolph II. at Prague, in whose possession it remained till his death and the subsequent sack of Prague by the Swedes in 1648. In 1648 Ridolfi describes it accurately in his "Meraviglie d'Arte,"⁴ doubtless being acquainted with Sadeler's engraving or the Modena copy. The original, taken off to Stockholm to adorn Queen Christina's gallery, next travelled to Rome, when the ill-fated Queen removed thither in 1654, and after her death in 1689 passed through the hands of the Marchese Azzolino and (1696) Prince Odescalchi, until sold to Philippe d'Orléans in 1721 and sent to Paris. Here it is recorded as *L'Esclavonne*, the title of *La Bella Schiavona* having first been given it when in Rome. For seventy years it enjoyed a rest, but its wanderings soon began anew.⁵ The Orleans Gallery was dispersed, and in 1792 it was sold to the banker Walkner in Brussels, and thence passed to Laborde de Méreville. He sold it in turn to the Earl of Suffolk,⁶ and in 1824 it belonged to a Mr. Edward Gray, of Harringay House, Hornsey, "a gentleman who possesses," says Buchanan, "one of the finest small collections of pictures which is in the country." When this collection was dispersed

¹ Vasari.

² According to the inscription on the print.

³ Copy now in the Modena Gallery.

⁴ i. 209.

⁵ For all these incidents see the *Nineteenth Century*, December 1904.

⁶ See Buchanan's "Memoirs." M. Yriarte states ("Autour des Borgia," 1891, p. 122) it was then sold for 52,000 francs.

in 1839 it passed eventually into the possession of a Mr. J. Dunnington Fletcher, and was sold by him, January 15, 1876, through Messrs. Colnaghi and Co. to the late Sir Francis Cook, and has remained at Richmond ever since.

Surely a much travelled canvas!—and bearing marks to-day, alas, of its journeys up and down Europe for three hundred and fifty years. So much for its history.

The second point is the identity of the lady. Great confusion has been caused by the vague statement of Ridolfi (writing in 1648, and giving the earliest *description* of the picture) that it represented “Madama la Duchessa” of Ferrara. Now Alfonso’s former wife was Lucretia Borgia, and modern writers like Marquis Campori,¹ M. Yriarte,² and especially Crowe and Cavalcaselle,³ have all been misled by this statement into thinking that Titian painted a portrait of Lucretia Borgia. It was reserved for Dr. Carl Justi to establish the identity of Ridolfi’s “Madama la Duchessa” with Alfonso’s mistress, and afterwards (according to Vasari) his wife, Laura de’ Dianti.⁴ The truth had already been hinted at by those astute historians, Crowe and Cavalcaselle,⁵ and those who have since seen the portrait of Lucretia Borgia that was sold from the Doetsch collection in 1895 need no further proof that our lady with the negro page is not the same woman.⁶ Agreeing therefore with Dr. Justi that Ridolfi’s “Madama la

¹ “Tiziano e gli Estensi,” p. 33.

² “Autour des Borgia,” p. 122.

³ “Titian,” i, 185–91.

⁴ “Jahrbuch, xx. p. 183.

⁵ “Titian,” i, 266.

⁶ The Doetsch portrait bore the inscription, “Lucretia Borgia. ætatis suæ an. XL. A.C.N. MDXX.” It was ascribed to Dosso, and seems a posthumous likeness. It is published as frontispiece to Gregorovius’ “Lucretia Borgia,” translated by Garner from third German edition. (Murray, 1904.) It now belongs to Mr. de Zoete at Layer Marney, in Essex.

Duchessa" is Alfonso's third wife, Laura de' Dianti, we find all difficulties vanish, and Vasari's words "ritrasse la signora Laura che fu poi moglie di quel duca ; che è opera stupenda" fully confirmed.

Laura de' Dianti was of humble origin, but as mistress of Alfonso she seems to have occupied a recognised position at the Ferrarese court, and was known in her lifetime as "the most illustrious Signora Laura Eustochio Estense." There is pretty good evidence that Alfonso married her after the death of Lucretia Borgia, his second wife, and when Laura died and was buried in Sant' Agostino of Ferrara in 1573, Alfonso II. and Cardinal Luigi of Este accompanied her son Don Alfonso to the funeral.¹ It may be added that the popular name given to a famous picture in the Salon Carré of the Louvre, viz. *Laura de' Dianti and Alfonso d'Este*, is entirely erroneous, and seems of modern invention, for in Charles I.'s time it was called *Titian and his Mistress!* The Louvre catalogue is unfortunately misleading in stating that the real portrait of Alfonso by Titian is at Madrid ; as already mentioned, it (or an old copy of it) hangs in the Pitti Gallery at Florence. The Madrid portrait represents either Alfonso's son, Ercole II. (as Justi and others hold), or else Federigo, Marquis of Mantua.²

Now from the dress and bearing of the lady in the Richmond picture it is clear that she is a person of distinction :

¹ See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, "Titian," i. 266.

² Gronau, "Titian," p. 302. Another so-called *Laura and Alfonso* belongs to the Earl of Malmesbury, at Heron Court, Christchurch, Hants. (New Gallery, 1894, No. 163.) These romantic names were usually attached to portraits in the eighteenth century, in order to invest them with more interest. The most unfortunate victims of this craze are probably Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, La bella Simonetta, Caterina Cornaro and Christopher Columbus !

"None but a princess in those days could indulge in the luxury of an Ethiopian page ; and the gemmed passion-flower and silken riband adorning her turbaned head, or the looped silk gown and scarf of striped gauze which set off her person, are not less rich and elegant than the dress which gives distinction to Isabel of Este or the Duchess of Urbino." (Crowe and Cavalcaselle, i. 186.)

In fact when this portrait was painted it would seem that she was already Duchess of Ferrara, and, as Alfonso's second wife died in 1519, it follows that the picture was painted after that date. How soon after it is impossible to say with exactness, yet it is probable that as Titian painted Alfonso's likeness twice, once before 1529, and again in 1536, he may have painted the Duchess at the same time. Indeed a comparison of the two portraits, that of the Duke (in the Pitti) and the Duchess (at Richmond), almost suggests they are companion pieces, the action of the arms in both being singularly balanced, the Duke leaning on a piece of artillery (of which he was a famous inventor), the Duchess on her Ethiopian page. The sizes of the two paintings do not perfectly agree, but the Pitti portrait being the second one of Alfonso painted by Titian (or a copy of it), it is possible the earlier one (which is lost, but which is described by a contemporary writer—"the one was as like the other as two drops of water") may have been a little smaller and so the size of the Richmond Duchess. This is, however, conjecture ; what is certain is that as compositions the two figures correspond admirably, both being knee pieces, facing inwards, and of similar pose and action.

There remains the all-important question—Is the Richmond picture really painted by Titian ? This is

entirely a matter of internal evidence ; for although the picture can be traced right back to the days of Sadeler's engraving and Carracci's copy, *i.e.* before 1599, it is always possible that a copy was substituted at some stage in its history, and that we have before us, not the original by Titian, but only an old repetition by some clever imitator. It happens, however, in this case that we have six other versions of this picture, and if we compare them carefully we shall find the gulf of quality fixed between the Richmond portrait and the six others, which places the former in a class by itself. Of these six versions one has been already mentioned, viz. the copy made by Lodovico Carracci, which is now in the gallery at Modena. This makes no claim to be an original Titian, nor do the two smaller versions in Rome—one in the Borghese gallery, and one formerly in the Sciarra collection. Yet another version belonged to Conte Luigi Sernagiotti in Venice, and I am content to accept Dr. Carl Justi's judgment that these are all later copies.¹ Two, however, remain worthy of some study, and are here reproduced. One is in a private collection at Berlin, the other in the gallery at Stockholm. The former is unknown to me at first hand, so I leave it to the judgment of competent critics to say if it bears on its face the marks of an original work by Titian himself. Judging merely from reproduction, there is to my mind scarcely room for doubt, and from a long familiarity with the Richmond painting any hesitation I might have in deciding only from photographs vanishes in the certain conviction that here is Titian's own original, damaged, it is true, but still "a thing of joy and beauty."

Plates
xxii
xxiii

And here let me invoke the opinion of Mr. Charles Ricketts, a most competent judge of such matters. "It is a beautiful wreck," he says, "but hands, skirt

¹ See "Jahrbuch," xx. p. 183.

PLATE XXII



PORTRAIT OF LAURA DE' DIANTI. AFTER TITIAN
BARON VON LIPPERHEIDE COLLECTION, BERLIN. BOLL, PHOTO



PORTRAIT OF LAURA DE' DIANTI.
AFTER TITIAN. STOCKHOLM MUSEUM

and negro are still by Titian." The upper part of the picture, especially the face, has been cruelly rubbed, and the modelling is gone ; at some period a varnish has been applied, leaving dirty brown spots all over the surface, and the whole has been flattened out and otherwise disfigured. Of repainting there is very little, so that what one sees, underpainting and all, is Titian's very own ; but it is only in passages like the right hand and wrist, the delicate lawn of the sleeve, the wonderful blue of the dress and the variegated costume of the negro page that the real touch of the master-hand can be recognised. Let any one contrast these details with the cold precision of the Stockholm and Berlin versions, and decide the relative merits of all three paintings. (For the rest these only claim to be copies !)

Many years ago Dr. Carl Justi suggested that the Richmond picture was the lost original ; he was followed by M. Yriarte;¹ but more modern critics were silent, or, like myself, unwilling to dissent from their fellows who only saw yet another copy.² To-day I see in the Richmond picture Titian's own hand, and an historical portrait the interest in which is not the less for the many strange vicissitudes through which it has passed.

¹ "Autour des Borgia," 1891, p. 122, with a reproduction.

² As such I wrongly described it in the article on "Titian" in the new edition of Bryan's "Dictionary."

V. NOTES ON THE STUDY OF TITIAN¹

FEW of the “old masters” have claimed so much attention from writers as Titian; the bibliography connected with his life and art fills several pages in Dr. Georg Gronau’s “Titian,” which is one of the latest books on the subject.² The pages of the *Burlington Magazine* bear witness to the constant interest attaching to his name;³ fresh points are raised, fresh facts recorded, fresh pictures found, which give rise to discussion or maybe settle definitely some open question. It cannot be too often asserted that knowledge is progressive; each generation succeeds to the heritage of its predecessor, and brings fresh evidence to light, correcting, amplifying, modifying previous beliefs. The monumental work of Crowe and Cavalcaselle (second edition, 1881) still remains the standard book on Titian, but must be studied in the light of more modern research; and we still await a complete life of Titian which shall incorporate all that is now known and present a more faithful picture of the man and his art than is at present accessible to the public.⁴

There is something so universal in the character of Titian’s art that it is not unreasonable to compare him with Beethoven and even Shakespeare; and when

¹ Reprinted from the *Burlington Magazine*, November 1906.

² English translation, 1904, from the German edition, 1900.

³ i. 185. ii. 281. iv. 17. v. 516. vi. 60, 95, 136, 412, 452. vii. 59, 345, 449, and May 1906.

⁴ I have elsewhere indicated my own conviction that no true life of Titian will be written until the date of his birth be recognised as 1489 instead of 1477, as commonly supposed. This matter affects the whole development of his early career, and, indeed, of Venetian painting in the first years of the sixteenth century.

PLATE XXIV



CUPID. BY TITIAN
VIENNA ACADEMY

PLATE XXV



"THE LITTLE TAMBOURINE-PLAYER"
ASCRIBED TO TITIAN. VIENNA GALLERY
LÖWY, PHOTO

pages of profound learning and study are being devoted to Lotto, to Carpaccio and to Sodoma, small excuse is needed for bringing fresh facts to light and fresh evidence to bear on a subject of far greater artistic moment.

It is strange that a public gallery in Europe should possess a genuine painting by Titian which (so far as I know) goes unrecorded by modern biographers of the master. The Academy at Vienna—that remarkable collection second only to the larger museum or picture gallery which every one knows—has among its many treasures a *Cupid* or *Amor* by Titian. Chance has it that the other and more famous gallery in Vienna also possesses a picture of similar kind, known universally as *The Little Tambourine Player*. Both are here illustrated, and the contrast is suggestive; it is even disquieting, for if the latter be, as is generally now assumed, a genuine bit of an early Titian, it is hard to explain the obvious divergence of style between the two. The Academy *Cupid* must be either of later date in Titian's career, or it is not the work of Titian. Such has been apparently the view of critics. Before suggesting a third explanation let us see why the alternatives just mentioned fail to meet the case.

Plates
xxiv
xxv

First, the Academy *Cupid* cannot possibly be a late, or even a middle, period work of Titian—if for no other reason than the character of the landscape. For in the background occurs the group of buildings exactly identical line for line with those in two famous paintings of Titian's early time, the *Noli Me Tangere* of the National Gallery and the Dresden *Venus*, the latter of which, although painted by Giorgione, was completed by Titian, who added the landscape.¹ Doubtless the landscape in the Vienna

¹ Signor Venturi (*La gall. Crespi in Milan*, p. 145) has already noticed this identity of landscape.

Cupid was painted about the same time as the other two, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that these farm buildings portray some cherished spot in Titian's memory connected with his mountain home at Pieve di Cadore.¹

Secondly, who but Titian himself would have painted a landscape in which the chief motive is identical with Titian's own admitted work elsewhere? Moreover, where, as here, every indication of style points to him and tradition attaches his name to the picture, it is surely illogical to deny his authorship. On the question of quality alone there is some difficulty, for so much damage has been done to this canvas by abrasion and repainting that some may assert it is a copy. I cannot, however, accept this view, and must emphatically claim it for an original work of Titian, damaged no doubt, but not beyond recognition.

If *Cupid* then be, as I maintain, a genuine early work of Titian, what of the other, *The Little Tambourine Player*, which differs from it in certain definable ways, yet is commonly put down to Titian's early time? (Gronau, Berenson, Venturi, Phillips.) Here, I think, Crowe and Cavalcaselle saw more accurately than modern writers, for they state (ii. 456) : "All the surface glazing having been removed, the flesh looks white and stony and unrelieved by shadow of any kind. It is hard under these circumstances to say more than that the picture is not by Titian." They go on to suggest a Flemish appearance in the landscape, but here I cannot agree. The painting is essentially Venetian, and the way the balance of lines is managed, the

¹ The same group of buildings recurs in the Borghese *Sacred and Profane Love*, but seen from the other side apparently, and analogous bits are found in the Padua frescoes of 1511 and in the *Three Ages*. The clouds, too, in the *Cupid* picture are exactly repeated in the Dresden *Venus*.

imaginative treatment of the background and the subtle beauty of detail are more akin to Giorgione than to Titian. The decorative accessories reveal a poetic mind of high order ; the whole conception is more lyrical than is usual with Titian, even in his early mood. In a word, I cannot see Titian here.

But I am not so much concerned in proving a negative, notoriously difficult, as in rehabilitating to favour the strangely neglected *Cupid*, which should take its place among the slighter pieces of that early time when Titian was emerging from the subordinate position he occupied during Giorgione's life, and was struggling into prominence as candidate for Bellini's official post in the *senseria*.

* * * *

Partial eclipse has also fallen upon another work of Titian, and that a masterpiece. This is the great group of *The Cornaro Family*, in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick.¹ Crowe and Cavalcaselle spoke of it in terms of praise, and Sir Claude Phillips more recently described it as "the finest portrait group of this special type that Venice has produced."² Yet other writers pass it by, perhaps because it is unfamiliar, so that it is well to republish the illustration which appeared some years ago.³ Its size alone would entitle it to rank among Titian's most imposing productions (8 ft. 5 in. x 6 ft. 8 in.), but in every respect it must have ranked high in the *œuvre* of the master's maturity. For here we get that supreme distinction which characterises Titian all through, and which rises, as here, to its highest when a fitting theme presented itself. Three generations of the greatest

¹ Until recently this picture hung in London.

² "Later Work of Titian." *Portfolio*, 1898, p. 88.

³ Unfortunately permission to reprint this plate is now (1912) refused by the owner of the picture.

patrician family in Venice was indeed a subject after Titian's own heart, and he represents them engaged in an act of devotion at an altar placed in the open air, doubtless to commemorate some event of family and political importance in the history of the time. The style of painting points, as has been suggested, to the year 1560 or thereabouts, to the time, that is, when Titian was in full possession of his powers, and Venice was witnessing the rival glories of Tintoretto and Paul Veronese. Indeed it may well be that this masterpiece of portraiture had a direct influence upon Tintoretto, but neither he nor Veronese ever produced so simple and dignified a group. The pomp and circumstance of *The Family of Darius*, in the National Gallery, turns the art of portrait painting into one of pageantry, and Tintoretto's analogous group, in the Venice Academy, is excuse for a dramatic scene. Titian alone preserves that stately dignity of bearing which requires no accessories to reinforce it, and in this Cornaro family portrait, so simple and naturally grouped, we have the finest example of his skill in this domain of art. In a word, it is one of England's greatest treasures and has found a permanent home in fitting surroundings.¹

* * * *

If a correct chronology is largely to determine the still open question of Titian's development in earlier years, another factor will have to be faced in estimating his maturer style. This is the presence of a close imitator who shadows his path from about 1520 to 1550, but whose name has passed into almost total oblivion. This person is none other than his own brother, Francesco Vecellio, the author, in fact, of a good many fine pictures which pass current under Titian's name.

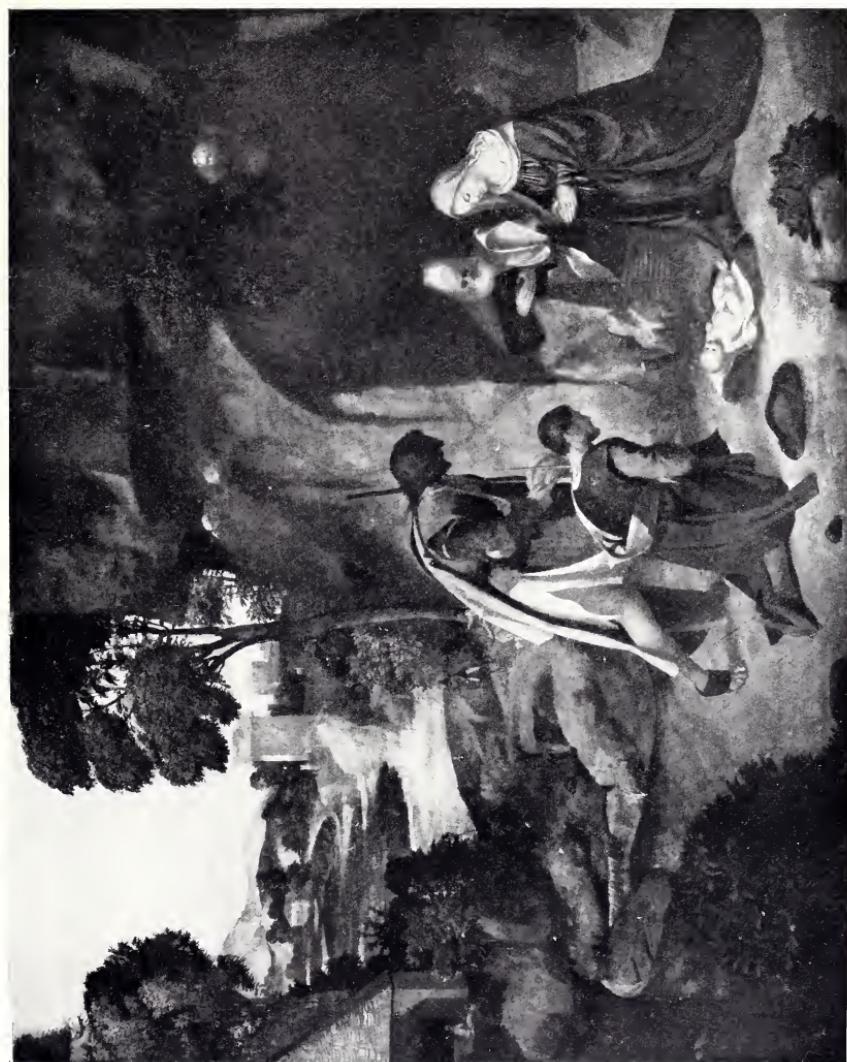
¹ Old copies exist at Buckingham Palace, at Northwick Park and at Grittleton. The original was once in Van Dyck's possession and was exhibited at the "Old Masters" in 1873.

PLATE XXVI



ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS. BY
FRANCESCO VECELLIO. COLLECTION OF
SIR FREDERICK COOK, RICHMOND. GRAY, PHOTO

PLATE XXVII



ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS. BY GIORGIONE
COLLECTION OF VisCOUNT ALLENDALE

There is, perhaps, no painter in the whole range of Venetian art who so little deserves this eclipse, yet modern critics ignore him completely or register his pictures under other names, and for choice telescope him with Polidoro.¹ The older biographers did not treat him in this fashion, and the story goes that when Titian saw an altar-piece completed by Francesco for one of the churches of Cadore, he trembled for his own fame and diverted Francesco's activity into a new channel.² Fortunately a document is at hand which enables us to start with something definite—a large altar-piece formerly in possession of the late Sir William Farrer; it is now reproduced here for the first time. This altar-piece was sold at Christie's, March 23, 1912, Plate and bought by the present writer. It is now in Sir xxvi Frederick Cook's gallery at Richmond.

Painted for San Giuseppe in Belluno, it passed on the suppression of the church in 1806 to the Casa Ponte at Fonzaso, near Belluno, whence it was brought to England and purchased by the late owner in 1882. Records have been discovered proving it to be the work of Francesco Vecellio.³

What then does this picture reveal of its author? First, of course, that he is Titianesque in the sense that a superficial observer might easily mistake the style for Titian's own at an early stage of his career. But a closer study shows that the scale is smaller, the forms are clumsier, the drawing less nervous and vital, the draperies less expressive and the colour darker and

¹ Of course there is a real Polidoro da Lanzano as well, who imitates Titian.

² Ridolfi (1648), i. 285.

³ See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. 482. Lanzi (writing in 1828) says: "Francesco also painted a grand *Nativity of our Lord*, at San Giuseppe in Belluno, which until lately was esteemed a fine specimen of Titian, when Monsignor Doglioni traced it by authentic documents to its real author."

less brilliant. A further analysis reveals the interesting fact that the composition is taken practically straight from Giorgione, with whose *Adoration of the Shepherds*, belonging to Viscount Allendale in London, the scheme is identical, with this difference of fibre, however, that all the marvellous romance of Giorgione as seen in the poetic setting of landscape and lighting is missed by his imitator and replaced by an uninspired group of angels and a literal treatment of background scenery and accessories, the whole making an upright composition, whereas Giorgione's is oblong in shape.

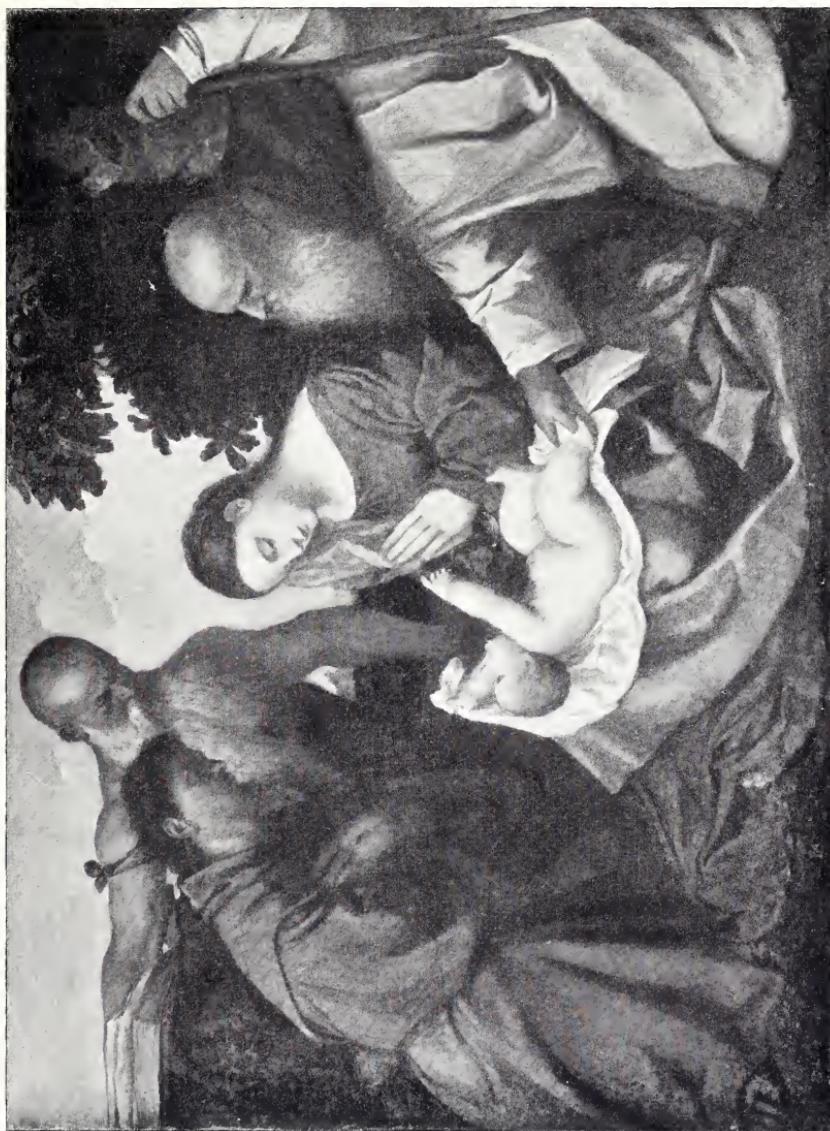
Nevertheless we are not in the presence of that still later and lower grade of imitation of which Polidoro da Lanzano is the conspicuous type, but here is a man who stands midway between Giorgione and Titian, imitating both, yet with an individuality of his own which makes it possible to recognise his touch elsewhere. A long study of his style has enabled me to identify his hand in many works still passing under Titian's name, and it is in the hope that some future historian will follow up this clue that I now point out a few of these pictures.

The Organ Shutters of San Salvatore at Venice, "one of the most charming creations in the Giorgionesque style" (Gronau), are already recorded as his by Ridolfi (1648), and described in warm terms of approval by Crowe and Cavalcaselle (ii. 481). Unfortunately no reproductions exist, nor of an altar-piece that used to be in the Berlin Gallery (No. 173),¹ nor of a *Riposo* in the Venice Academy. Several other productions in Cadore and Bellunese churches prove his regular employment in these provinces. A *Holy Conversazione* in the Munich gallery—rightly bearing his name—is of most charming silvery tone, recalling Savoldo (note the characteristic drawing of the hands), and in the Harrach gallery at Vienna is a small work

Plate
xxviii

¹ Now in the palace of the Imperial Chancellor at Berlin.

PLATE XXVIII



MADONNA AND CHILD WITH SAINTS. BY FRANCESCO VECCELLIO
MUNICH GALLERY. HANFSTÄNGL, PHOTO



MADONNA AND CHILD WITH SAINTS, BY FRANCESCO VECELLIO
LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY, VIENNA. HANFSTÄNL, PHOTO

PLATE XXX



TOBIAS AND THE ANGEL. BY FRANCESCO
VECELLIO. CHURCH OF STA. CATERINA, VENICE

PLATE XXXI



MADONNA AND CHILD WITH SAINTS, BY FRANCESCO VECELLO
GLASGOW GALLERY, HANSTÄNL, PHOTO

PLATE XXXII



MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE. BY FRANCESCO VECELLIO
COLLECTION OF SIR FREDERICK COOK, RICHMOND, GRAY, PHOTO

PLATE XXXIII



MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. JOHN, BY
FRANCESCO VECELLO, VERONA GALLERY

PLATE XXXIV



MADONNA AND CHILD. BY FRANCESCO
VECELLIO. HERMITAGE GALLERY, ST. PETERS-
BURG. HANFSTÄNGL, PHOTO

NOTES ON THE STUDY OF TITIAN 95

also bearing his name and representing two Putti embracing. The dainty *Madonna and Saints* in the Liechtenstein gallery at Vienna I believe also to be by Francesco.¹ Plate xxix

All these paintings prove how closely the styles of the two brothers agree at a certain period ; and this is not to be wondered at when we learn that they were living together in Venice in 1550, and that friendly relations subsisted between them from earlier times down to 1559, when Francesco died. He was said to be the elder brother by some two or three years, and divided his life between painting, soldiering and commercial pursuits. It is time his artistic merits received due recognition.

¹ To above short list I now (1912) add and here illustrate :
(1) The lovely *Tobias and the Angel* in the Church of St. Caterina in Venice. (2) The Glasgow *Holy Family*. (3) The *Marriage of St. Catherine* in Sir Frederick Cook's gallery at Richmond, of which there are old copies at Hampton Court, Cambridge, the Ambrosiana Gallery, Milan, and elsewhere. (4) The *Madonna and Child* in the Verona Gallery. (5) The *Madonna and Child* in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg.

Plates xxx-xxxiv

MISCELLANEOUS

I. "THE MADONNA OF THE TOWER" BY RAPHAEL¹

Plate
xxxv

IN 1857 the art treasures of all England were brought together at Manchester. On that famous occasion there was exhibited for the first time a painting by Raphael known as the *Madonna della Torre* or *Madonna of the Tower*, whose owner, Mr. R. J. Mackintosh, son of the historian, and recorder of Bombay, had purchased it the previous year at the sale of the collection of the poet Rogers. For forty-five years afterwards the picture was lost to sight, until Miss Mackintosh, to whom it had passed on the death of her father, consented to exhibit it once more, and in 1902 the modern generation saw it at the winter exhibition of "Old Masters" at the Royal Academy. Through the generosity of the same lady, Raphael's picture has now passed into the nation's keeping, and has thus found a final and fitting resting-place in the National Gallery. So much for its recent history.

The verdict passed upon it as a work of art by modern critics and writers of repute is remarkably unanimous. It may be worth recalling these critical opinions. Waagen, describing the picture when it was still in Mr. Rogers' possession in 1854 states (ii. 76) :

"The expression of joyousness in the Child is very pleasing. The grey colour of the underdress of the Virgin, with the red sleeves, forms an agreeable harmony with the blue mantle. Judging from the character and drawing, the composition may be assigned to the early period of Raphael's residence at Rome. In other

¹ Reprinted from the *Burlington Magazine*, October 1906.

respects this picture admits of no judgment; many parts having become quite flat by cleaning, and others being painted over. The landscape is in a blue-greenish tone, differing from Raphael's manner."

Passavant followed in 1860, and duly notes the painting as a genuine though damaged original, the several old copies of which he also enumerates.

Then came the period of eclipse, during which no one appears to have seen the picture, for in 1882 Crowe and Cavalcaselle write thus:¹

"To the Rogers 'Madonna' we turn as to a lost example of the master. The kindly poet who was so pleased to own it died, and for a season a fortunate purchaser consented to its public exhibition. But since 1857, when the art treasures of all England were brought together at Manchester, no one had the privilege of seeing it. Yet our memory still clings to this masterpiece as embodying the feeling and tenderness of the Florentine period manifested in the 'Madonna del Gran Duca' and the 'Virgin of Casa Tempi,' combined with the dignity and elevation that characterise the later 'Madonna del Pesce.' Though different in many ways from all these, the Rogers 'Madonna' is marked at once as being of Raphael's early Roman period by the greater breadth of its style, the grander forms of the figures and the richness of dress which the master first appreciated after he witnessed the splendours of the Vatican. But for the variegated head-gear, veil and puffed sleeve, one might say that the group is a simple one of a mother and child in a landscape. . . . The action is the more charming as the Virgin gazes at the Boy with a delicious fondness, whilst He looks out of the picture with a smile as if unconscious of all but the joy of the moment. The pleasure with which this

¹ "Life of Raphael," ii. 132.



THE "MADONNA OF THE TOWER"
BY RAPHAEL NATIONAL GALLERY
HANFSTÄNGL, PHOTO

picture fills the spectator would be without alloy but for the state to which it was reduced by accidents and repairs."

In Sir Henry Layard's edition of Kugler (1887) the date 1512 is adopted, and this comment made :

"The picture has now lost its surface, and is interesting in a technical point of view on account of the bright reddish under-tint which is apparent."

A small outline sketch is also given, but the first photographic reproduction appears in "Raphael's Madonnas and Other Great Pictures," by Karl Károly,¹ followed in 1900 by an article published in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, in which the seven or eight authentic Raphaels in private possession in England are illustrated. The writer confirms what he then wrote :

"La Madone de Miss Mackintosh est un très beau tableau, plein du charme intense et du sentiment raphaélesques. Elle n'a pas été montrée publiquement depuis 1857, date où elle figura à l'exposition de Manchester, et peu de personnes savent ce qu'elle est devenue depuis. La reproduction que nous en donnons sera donc la bienvenue. L'état de conservation de l'œuvre est loin d'être satisfaisant. . . . Raphael possède vraiment le secret de l'éternelle beauté, que ne peuvent détruire les ravages du temps ni les restaurateurs."

Then came its reappearance at the "Old Masters" at the Royal Academy in 1902, and the gist of the Press criticisms at the time was that the picture was a damaged but genuine work by Raphael. Mr. Bernhard Berenson gives a guarded adhesion to this view :²

"Without discussing how much of this picture came

¹ Bell and Sons, 1894, with text.

² "Study and Criticism of Italian Art," ii. 46 (1902), with illustrations of the picture and the British Museum cartoon *en face*.

from Raphael's own hand, and whether a more authentic version ever existed, it certainly is the least unworthy of the master among all the versions known to me."

Finally, Julia Cartwright (Mrs. Ady) in the latest "Life of Raphael"¹ adds :

"The motive of the child standing on a parapet was common in Venetian art, and was probably suggested to Raphael by his friend Sebastiano del Piombo. Unfortunately this once lovely work has suffered terribly from neglect and repaint, but not even the restorer's hand has been able wholly to destroy the exquisite charm and tenderness of Raphael's original design."

With such a weight of collective testimony behind it, the *Madonna of the Tower* can brave the hostile criticism of the modern few who disparage what they cannot appreciate, and disdain beauty because of its imperfections.

As to the earliest history of the picture we are in the region of conjecture. Mrs. Ady puts forward the theory :² "It is quite possible that this picture was the 'Little Virgin and Christ' by Raphael, mentioned in the inventory of King Charles I.'s sale, and valued on that occasion at the high price of £800. This *quadretto*, as it was called, came from Mantua, and may have been the very painting which Isabella d'Este ordered in 1515, but which Castiglione discovered to be still unfinished four years later. In all probability it remained in the same state at the time of Raphael's death, and was afterwards completed by other hands."

But this double conjecture can hardly be sustained,

¹ Duckworth and Co., 1906.

² *Op. cit.* p. 142.

as 1515 seems to be too late a date. 1512 (as given by Kugler) is probably right, that is to say, just at the time when Sebastiano del Piombo had arrived in Rome from Venice, and Raphael's style reflects a certain extraneous influence to be attributed to contact with the Venetian master.¹ Certain it is that the composition acquired early popularity, for Domenico Alfani embodied it in his altar-piece of 1518, now in the gallery at Perugia, and a contemporary copy was made by one of Raphael's own pupils and now hangs in the Borghese gallery. Later, in the seventeenth century, Sasso-ferrato copied it twice (Borghese and Leuchtenberg galleries), and Carlo Ceresa (1609-79) has a version of it in the gallery at Bergamo. It is curious to note that these copies have no landscape background. Other versions again exist in the Palazzo Albani in Rome, and in the Esterhazy gallery at Budapest.

How the picture eventually passed into the Orleans gallery is not known, but it was sold from there at the end of the eighteenth century to Mr. Willet for £150, and passed through Mr. Henry Hope's sale into the collection of Mr. Samuel Rogers, at whose death, in 1856, it was bought, as before mentioned, by Mr. Mackintosh for 480 guineas.

It is a happy augury that the generous intention of the donor has matured at the very moment when the new directorate of the National Gallery is just inaugurated, and we suspect that both Sir Edward Poynter and Sir Charles Holroyd deserve the thanks of the nation in a degree second only to the generous benefactress herself.

¹ The interchange of style between Raphael and Sebastiano in those years 1512-18 has led, as is well known, to a terrible confusion between the two, of which the *Fornarina* (in the Uffizi) is the leading case. But the matter is by no means so simply disposed of, even yet, as some assert.

II. A LOST PORTRAIT BY FRANCIA¹

THE name of Isabella d'Este, Marchioness of Mantua, is familiar to most people. This enlightened patroness of the fine arts may be justly regarded as the first collector in the modern sense of the word, and her *studio* in the palace at Mantua as the first private gallery ever formed. Several modern writers have interested themselves in the history of this remarkable lady of the Renaissance. One of the most recent accounts, and at the same time one of the most interesting to the general reader, has been published by the late M. Charles Yriarte in a series of articles in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, in which the writer traces the history of the relations between Isabella and the great artists of her day, notably Mantegna, Perugino, Leonardo, Bellini, Costa and Francia. In his sixth and concluding article² M. Yriarte picturesquely puts before us the story of Isabella's transactions with Francia, based upon extant letters and other documents already published by previous writers. Briefly summarised the story is as follows. In the year 1509 Gian Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, Isabella's husband, had fallen into the hands of the Venetians after the disastrous fight at Legnano. At last, in July 1510, he was set at liberty by the influence of Pope Julius II., but the latter claimed as hostage Isabella's young son Federigo, then aged ten. After much hesitation his mother sent him to the Vatican, where he soon became a great favourite with the Pontiff. On his way to Rome the boy passed

¹ Reprinted from the *Athenæum*, February 7, 1903

² *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1896, pp. 330-46.

through Bologna, where his father then was, and Isabella, anxious to retain a souvenir of her young son, asked Lorenzo Costa, the Bolognese artist, to paint his portrait for her. Costa, however, was unable at the moment to comply with her request, so the commission was transferred to Francia. On July 29 (so we learn from Isabella's correspondence) Francia began the boy's portrait, and already by August 10 Isabella had received it. "It is impossible," she writes, "to see a better portrait or one more like Federigo; I am surprised to see in how short a time the artist has produced so perfect a work; it is clear he wished to show us of what he was capable." In sending Francia 30 golden ducats for it she asks him to retouch the hair, which is too blond. This was eventually done, and Francia writes:

"We accept the 30 ducats as a munificent gift of your Highness; the trouble we have taken in executing the portrait of the Lord Federigo does not deserve such a handsome reward. We remain your grateful servant for life."

The portrait, it seems, was sent to the Vatican to be shown the Pope, but what became of it eventually is not clear. Francia also executed a portrait of Isabella herself in the following year, 1511; this portrait, too, has disappeared.¹ M. Yriarte significantly remarks :

"Ce n'est plus qu'un hasard heureux qui pourrait nous mettre un jour en face de ce portrait, où Isabelle, tout en se reconnaissant, déclare que le peintre l'a faite 'plus belle que nature.' Quant au portrait de Frédéric, exécuté à Bologne par Francia, alors qu'il allait devenir

¹ Dr. Williamson, in his recent book on Francia, pp. 139-41, refers to these missing portraits, quoting Sig. Venturi in *Archivio*, July 1888.

l'otage du Vatican, c'est dans l'ensemble des collections de Charles I^{er}, dispersées dans toute l'Europe, qu'il faut certainement le chercher ; nous ne désespérons point de pouvoir l'identifier un jour."

M. Yriarte's hopes have been fulfilled. The portrait of the young Federigo Gonzaga by Francia has been found, not, however, exactly as he surmised, but in a no less likely direction, in an English country-house. A few days ago there arrived from Gloucestershire, from the home of Mr. A. W. Leatham, for exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, a portrait of a boy by Francia. Of its history nothing was known, except that the father of the present owner bought it from the Napoleon collection, and it was supposed to represent one of the Medici. That it is the work of Francia there cannot be any doubt whatever ; and in admitting that, its rarity is at once recognised, for genuine portraits by Francia can be counted on the fingers of one hand. But not only is it a genuine piece, it is as fine a thing as Francia ever painted, and in absolutely perfect condition. There is not a repaint anywhere, proof of the great care that has always been taken of it by successive owners. The picture shows us a young boy about ten years old, seen to the waist, holding a dagger in his right hand. He is dressed as a boy of distinction, and the long fair hair falls from beneath a cap placed jauntily on the side of the head. There is an elaborate landscape background of the usual Francia type.

Now Federigo was born on May 17, 1500 ; so that when Francia painted his portrait in 1510 the boy had just turned ten, the exact age the boy looks in our portrait. The latter also is clearly a mature work of the artist, and answers perfectly to Isabella's description : "It is clear he wished to show us of what he was



PORTRAIT OF FEDERIGO GONZAGA
BY FRANCIA. AMERICAN COLLECTION

capable." Moreover, the portrait has the blond hair to which Isabella alludes, although we may conclude that Francia darkened it as requested.

These coincidences of age, date, style and detail warrant the conclusion that here we have the long-lost portrait of the young Federigo Gonzaga painted by Francia between July 29 and August 10, 1510.

It is likely that the portrait remained in the great collection of the Gonzagas at Mantua until its dispersal in 1629-30. Charles I. then acquired the greater part, but our portrait does not seem to have passed to England then; at any rate, the well-known brand of Charles is not to be found on the back. It is more probable that Cardinal Richelieu obtained it amongst his share of the spoil, and that after further vicissitudes it passed into the Napoleon collection, to emerge once again into recognition in the year 1903, nearly four hundred years after it was painted. That the name of Federigo Gonzaga had been forgotten is no wonder. Such may have been its history; but one thing is certain, it is a recovered masterpiece by Francia.¹

¹ The portrait of the young Federigo was introduced by Raphael into the *School of Athens* at the express request of the Pope (*vide* "Raphael in Rome," by Mrs. Ady, *Portfolio*, August 1895, p. 18). There seems, however, some doubt which of the figures is really he (*vide* Blashfield and Hopkins, trans. of "Vasari," iii. 148, note). It is notoriously difficult to identify likenesses, but either of two youths who appear in the fresco could be reasonably compared with our portrait, although both wear their hair curled. I am not aware that any medal or other authentic likeness of the young prince exists; the names of Isabella and her son, given to a picture in the Mond collection, are disputed. Raphael began a charcoal drawing of him in 1513, but left it unfinished; other portraits by Costa, Bonsignori and Titian (see "Vasari") seem to be lost, or as yet unidentified. In the *Athenaeum*, February 14, 1903, Mrs. Ady adds certain valuable remarks on the history of the portrait, which has now (1912) migrated to America.

III. BALDASSARE D'ESTE¹

THE history of art abounds in examples of the complete obscurity which has fallen hap-hazard over the personalities and works of some artists, while the memory of others less notable in their day is still preserved; and one of the chief functions of modern criticism is to correct these inequalities of fame. The particular instance to which I would now call attention is to be found in the old history of Ferrarese painting. Baldassare d'Este is unknown to-day, yet in his generation he was the court painter at Ferrara, and for forty years portrayed the features of successive dukes and statesmen and all the array of distinguished people that thronged the brilliant court of the Estes. Himself a child of Duke Niccolo III., he enjoyed a natural advantage to which the illegitimacy of his birth was no bar.²

Born at Reggio, in the Emilia, Baldassare is first heard of in 1461, when in the service of the Sforzas at Milan. In 1469 he was employed by Galeazzo Maria Sforza to paint his portrait and that of Bona his wife, in the Castle of Pavia, and soon after was received into the service of his own half-brother, Borso, Duke of Ferrara, who appointed him, together with Cosimo

¹ Reprinted from the *Burlington Magazine*, July 1911.

² Mrs. Ady, in her "Beatrice d'Este," p. 3, writes: "After the death of his father, the able and learned Niccolo III., who first established his throne on sure and safe foundations, Ercole's two elder half-brothers, Leonello and Borso, reigned in succession over Ferrara, and kept up the proud traditions of the house of Este, both in war and peace. Both were bastards, but in the Este family this was never held to be a bar to the succession. 'In Italy,' as Commines wrote, 'they make little difference between legitimate and illegitimate children.' But when the last of the two, Duke Borso, died, on May 27, 1471 . . . Niccolo's eldest legitimate son, Ercole, successfully asserted his claim to the throne, and entered peacefully upon his heritage."



PORTRAIT OF AN UNKNOWN MAN. BY
BALDASSARE D'ESTE. COLLECTION OF
MR. HERBERT COOK, ESHER. GRAY, PHOTO

Tura, court painter to the Este family. From 1469-74 he produced many portraits, including those of Antonio da Correggio, Marietta Calcagnino, Conte Lorenzo Strozzi and Monsignor di Foy. He painted four different likenesses of Duke Borso himself, and replicas of the Sforza portraits above mentioned. He was also employed to retouch a good many of the heads in the famous frescoes in the Schifanoia Palace, where Cossa and other Ferrarese masters had been at work. After Borso's death he twice painted the new Duke Ercole I., and also the Neapolitan envoy, Fabrizio Caraffa. Not one of these portraits has been identified, but medals by him, dated 1472, and representing Ercole I., are known.¹ He further decorated a chapel in St. Domenico at Ferrara with frescoes of the life of St. Ambrose, and in 1502 he painted an altar-piece for the nuns of Mortara which represented the Twelve Apostles. Before 1493 he was appointed Capitano di Porta Castello at his birthplace, Reggio, and died probably in 1504. Baruffaldi (1844) mentions other works of his, now lost.²

Such is Baldassare's history. But no single living critic can point with certainty to any one of his paintings. An attempt has been made indeed by Signor Venturi to identify a picture now in the possession of the Duca Massari at Ferrara with the above-mentioned picture of the Twelve Apostles known to have been executed by Baldassare in 1502 for the nuns of Mortara. Morelli, on the other hand, ascribed it to Francesco Bianchi-Ferrari, and Crowe and Cavalcaselle to either Ercole Grandi, Costa when young, or Coltellini (!), so that no unanimity prevails. In this existing state of uncertainty it is of the first importance

¹ At Vienna, and in the Dreyfus Collection, Paris.

² I am indebted for these particulars to Signor Venturi's article on Baldassare in Thieme-Becker's "Künstler-Lexikon," 1908.

to produce a document of unimpeachable authority ; and such a document is now given for the first time.

Plate
xxxvii

The portrait here illustrated was purchased by the present writer fourteen years ago at a sale at Christie's, where it appeared as the "Portrait of Baldassar, Duke of Treviso," by Domenici (!). It was sold by the late

Mr. G. P. Boyce, who, as appears from a note on the back, acquired it from Signor Rafaello Pinti, in 1895 ; and formerly it was No. 563 in the sale of the Costabili collection at Ferrara. Further investigation showed that this portrait is described accurately in the older writers on Ferrarese art, Cittadella (1864), Laderchi (1856), Baruffaldi (1844) and by Rosini (1850), who gives an outline reproduction of it. In more recent times Crowe and Cavalcaselle (1871) describe it, Morelli refers to it,¹ and Heiss (1881) gives a list of the different readings of the inscription—now no longer decipherable. From all these writers it appears that it is the one surviving portrait, fully signed and dated, which enables us to gauge the style of Baldassare's art.

This, then, is the one genuine work which must serve as a test of authenticity in other doubtful cases, and with this portrait we must begin in any attempt to reconstruct Baldassare's artistic personality. The portrait is painted in tempera on canvas and represents an elderly man of somewhat solemn aspect, clad in black cap and dress, seen in profile to the left. The ground is a very dark green, with the letters D T on each side above, and an inscription on the ledge below. This has been so much mutilated in modern times that it is no longer possible to read it in its entirety, but the older writers above mentioned give it (with slight alterations) thus : BALDASAR ESTENSIS NOB PIX ANOR

¹ English edition, ii. 130, *note*. Milanesi's notes to Vasari (iii. 27) also cite the picture.



PORTRAITS. PROBABLY BY BALDASSARE DESTE
KESTNER MUSEUM, HANOVER. BRUCKMANN, PHOTO



56. 1493.¹ The meaning of D T is not clear, for the ingenuity of Christie's cataloguer who hazarded Duke of Treviso (!) is hardly to be taken seriously. Baruffaldi (1844) suggests it may represent Dominus, or Dilectus Titus, *i.e.* Tito Strozzi, the poet, under whose name the picture is first mentioned in 1838 in the catalogue of the Costabili collection at Ferrara.² This time-honoured tradition is again quoted by Crowe and Cavalcaselle and other modern writers, but it is difficult to reconcile it with the date 1493, when Tito Strozzi (who was born in 1422) would have been seventy-one. Moreover, his appearance is scarcely poetical. We may therefore conclude the tradition to be of more than doubtful authenticity, and D T will stand for some other of the many distinguished men of the time whom Baldassare portrayed. But if the identity of the sitter be uncertain, the picture is undoubtedly the work of Baldassare d'Este, and apparently the sole surviving picture signed and dated, thereby affording the clue to the rehabilitation of this forgotten master.

I leave it to the researches of students to follow up this clue, only suggesting for further consideration the possibility that the two fine full-length portraits in the Kestner Museum at Hanover may be by Baldassare. The half-Milanese, half-Ferrarese character of all three portraits is probably to be explained by the fact that our painter had worked in Pavia, under Galeazzo Sforza, and indeed Baldassare must be regarded as the connecting link between these two schools, on the one side suggesting Bernardino de' Conti, and on the other Cossa and kindred Ferrarese masters.

Plate
xxxviii

¹ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, "North Italians" (i. 526) remark: "It is impossible to say why Laderchi read the date 1499, and Rosini 1495." Assuming 1493 to be correct, Baldassare would have been born in 1437.

² "Descrizione della Quadreria Costabili," 1838, p. 32—"Ritratto del poeta Tito Strozzi."

IV. SOME VENETIAN PORTRAITS IN ENGLISH POSSESSION¹

IN the pursuit of the study of art history there are two main routes to progress. Either we may study documents as archæologists, or we may study the work of art as connoisseurs. The combination of the two methods, backed by a technical knowledge of the painter's or sculptor's art, would produce the ideal art-critic. Such a man has yet to be born. The archæologist, the connoisseur, the artist, these three at present too often antagonistic beings, may one day be fused into a harmonious creature in whose composite nature all will be peace.

But there are signs of the approaching millennium. To-day there is rising in our midst a younger class of men, inheriting the connoisseurship of their predecessors, not scornful of archæological research, and withal armed with a practical knowledge of technique. Such men are breaking down the old barriers. The worst barrier is prejudice, which in England is apt to be called conservatism. The expert in most Englishmen's eyes is a positive danger: the "good-all-round man" capable of being First Lord of the Admiralty, or Director of the National Gallery, or anything else for that matter, is the national ideal. Unfortunately for us—in artistic matters—other nations have other ideas, and the days of Protection are coming upon us. Specialists have their use after all, and the following notes are intended to embody for English readers the latest information on certain matters for which we have to thank German research.

In the history of Venetian art more progress has been made in recent years than in any other direction

¹ Reprinted from the *Burlington Magazine*, February 1906.

PLATE XXXIX



PORTRAIT OF A MAN. BY GIORGIONE
COLLECTION OF SIR GEORGE KEMP. DIXON,
PHOTO

of Italian art study. Whilst Mr. Berenson has been expounding the connoisseur's point of view, Dr. Ludwig (whose premature death last year is so much to be deplored) has been giving us invaluable information culled from the depths of Venetian archives. The result of this research work is naturally little known to English students, still less to those who write English catalogues and dictionaries,¹ so that in the following notes on some unfamiliar Venetian portraits in England an opportunity occurs for correcting erroneous statements about certain painters and for giving the latest information on the subject of their lives.

The first picture in point of date, as in importance, is the portrait of an unknown Venetian gentleman by Giorgione. This was reproduced some years ago in Mr. Berenson's "Study and Criticism of Italian Art," and, although I cannot agree with him that it is only a copy and not an original, to him is due the credit of first connecting Giorgione's name with it. In the Doetsch sale of 1895 it was catalogued as a Licinio ; it has now passed into the possession of Sir George Kemp. It is reproduced here not because there is any fresh information to impart concerning Giorgione, about whom the archives are strangely silent, but to illustrate a phase of his art which profoundly influenced his contemporaries who took to producing "Giorgionesque" portraits such as those which are also here illustrated.

Mr. Berenson has already described this portrait in these terms :²

"The face is one of those which seem to brood in

Plate
xxxix

¹ The new edition of "Bryan" is, on the subject of Venetian art, very far from complete, and in the particular cases presently to be quoted absolutely misleading.

² "Study and Criticism of Italian Art," i. p. 82.

melancholy over energies their owners know not what to do with, while proudly conscious of power and full of determination. It is like the haunting face of that youth at Budapest . . . a character which fascinates the mind and yet repels the sympathies. And to represent a person as unsympathetic, as consumed with self, as are the head I am now introducing and the Esterhazy portrait, requires the very greatest of artists —an artist at least as great as Velazquez. . . . As interpretation is there not a startling likeness between the spirit of the two portraits by Giorgione of which I am speaking, and the spirit of the various likenesses of Philip IV. and of Olivarez by Velazquez? And it is not only in feeling that Giorgione here has travelled so far away from his earlier better-known self. His sense of structure has increased apace, and his tone has approached those exquisite harmonies in cool grey the mastery over which makes Velazquez the very greatest, perhaps, of colourists."

Giorgione died in November 1510. This portrait, therefore, must date from the first decade of the century. The remaining three portraits were all painted ten to twenty years later (one is actually dated 1528), and prove the vogue which such a style enjoyed in the earlier years of the sixteenth century.

The male portrait belonging to Sir Spencer Maryon-Wilson, at Charlton Park, is hitherto unrecorded, and, thanks to the owner's kind permission, is now illustrated for the first time. The type is far from attractive—in fact, this must have been some prosperous commonplace person, anxious to be painted in an up-to-date style, but scarcely a likely sitter to Titian, Palma, or even Cariani, whose patrons were drawn from the more aristocratic world. And so he had recourse to an artist of the second rank, to Marco Basaiti, who in later life



PORTRAIT OF AN UNKNOWN MAN. BY
BASAITI. COLLECTION OF SIR SPENCER
MARYON WILSON, CHARLTON. GRAY, PHOTO



adopted the prevalent style of portraiture, although to the last retaining traces of an antiquated manner. This is exactly the point he has reached in this portrait, which still shows the precision of design and sense of pattern of a Bellini or an Antonello, with a certain dry matter-of-factness hardly disguised by an expression of mood which is introduced more by the artist than evoked by the sitter. Comparable with this phase of Basaiti's art are the portraits in the Morelli Gallery at Bergamo and in Mr. Benson's collection in London, of which the former is dated 1521, and both are signed. The present picture bears neither date nor signature, yet on grounds of style may be assigned to Basaiti, of whom, too, a characteristic touch is seen in the leafy sprig introduced apparently without reason in the upper right-hand corner.¹

Marco Basaiti was probably of Greek origin, and the family of the Basaiti may have settled in the Friuli after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.² It is not known when exactly the painter was born, but he was still living in 1530.³ His earliest dated picture is 1503, when he completed Alvise Vivarini's altar-piece, still in Frari Church at Venice, and there are several other pictures bearing signature or date, the list of which is given in Mr. Berenson's "Venetian Painters" (p. 82). Alvise, Bellini and Giorgione were successively his models, if not his actual teachers in Venice, and his style underwent considerable changes, as, indeed, is only to be expected of an imitative artist in a period of transition. It is curious that so many of his paintings still exist, and that so little is known about him from

¹ For other instances of this see the *Burlington Magazine*, 1904, p. 574.

² See "Repertorium," 1899, p. 455 (Dr. Ludwig).

³ Ludwig in Supp. to "Jahrbuch," 1905, p. 1, correcting previous ideas. He also proves that Alvise was still living in September 1503, and died shortly before November 1505.

documents. The above constitutes all that is historically certain.

Plate XLThe next portrait is a document of some value, although an artistic achievement of more modest kind. For here is a signed and dated picture by a very rare artist whose better work doubtless to-day passes current under more famous names. Domenico Caprioli was born at Venice in 1494, the son-in-law and pupil of Pier Maria Pennacchi, by whom we also possess pictures. Caprioli was murdered in 1528, at the early age of thirty-four, and it will be noted that our picture—which hangs in the Bowes Museum at Barnard Castle—bears this very date. We are, therefore, able to observe his maturest style, and to work back through 1520, when he painted the *Ascension of the Virgin*, still in Treviso Cathedral, to 1518, which is the date on his signed *Nativity* in the Treviso Gallery. Two other pictures bear his monogram D. C.: *A Holy Family*, sold at Milan in 1898, and a *Nativity*, now in the Giovanelli Palace at Venice.¹ These are the only authenticated pictures, although a list of works attributed to him on stylistic grounds appears in Mr. Berenson's "Venetian Painters," third edition, p. 98. There were, however, four "Domenicos of Treviso," all painters, one of whom was doubtless the author of the Duke of Grafton's *Portrait of a Man*, dated 1541, and signed Domenicus, and Domenico Mancini is separate again. Our Caprioli seems to have spent his short career working in Treviso, and can hardly have attained the distinction of painting the Doge and Cardinal Domenico Grimani.² The Bowes Museum portrait shows a

¹ For these facts see "Repertorium," 1899, p. 251, and 1901, p. 156, quoting the researches of Girolamo Biscaro in the Archives of Treviso. The account given in Bryan's "Dictionary" is entirely erroneous.

² *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1896, p. 209.



PORTRAIT OF AN UNKNOWN MAN. BY
CAPRIOLI. BOWES MUSEUM, BARNARD CASTLE



connection with Lotto's art, with an ultimate dependence on Giorgione, and as it is fully signed, doubtless Caprioli was proud of it.

The last illustration shows a more familiar painter in his characteristic Giorgione mood. Cariani, though scarcely so prolific as some would have it, was yet a variable artist, and his better work escapes that note of provincialism which Morelli justly noted in his style. Yet modern archaeological research forces us to modify some of the historic deductions made by Morelli (ii. 27), as will be seen from the following sketch of his career.

Giovanni di Giovanni Busi, called Cariani, was born, 1485–90, either at Bergamo or in Venice. His father, who bore exactly the same name, came from Fiupiano, in the Brembo valley, moved to Venice about 1486, and about 1506 was appointed Comandador Ministerial di St. Marco, an official position of some importance. The father, who lived on till 1536, was also an artist, and he is mentioned several times by the *Anonimo*.¹ Cariani, the son, was already painting in Venice in 1509, the earliest date we hear of him,² and his name and date, 1514, were on an altar-piece once in the parish church of Lonno, in the Serio valley, and now missing. In 1517 we find him in Venice possessed of property, and we have dated pictures of 1519 and 1520, both at Bergamo. In 1537 he was evidently a man of means, and in November 1547 he was still living. He was twice married, and had adopted daughters. His last known work was the one presented by him to the Church of Fiupiano in 1541, but it is no longer to be found. The large number of his pictures still existing at Bergamo is no proof they were done there, although

¹ Dr. Williamson, in his recent edition of the “*Anonimo*,” incorrectly asserts that this Giovanni del Zanin Comandador is unknown (p. 100).

² Ludwig, in Supp. to “*Jahrbuch*,” 1905, p. 153.

he undoubtedly worked in fresco in the Town Hall, and the number of documents about him in Venice point to his having passed most of his life in the capital.¹

It is certain, therefore, that Cariani was established as a painter in Venice in Giorgione's lifetime, and that he outlived Palma by about twenty years. The influence of both these contemporary artists is seen in his pictures, but there is no documentary proof that he completed Palma's unfinished works. It is more likely that Bonifazio and other assistants of Palma were employed on this task.²

A long list of his works is published by Mr. Berenson ("Venetian Painters," p. 99), who cites the present portrait from Chatsworth. It is also referred to by the late Mr. Strong in these terms :³

"The strangely haunting, richly toned *Portrait of a Man* belongs to the period when Italian painting, under the influence and auspices of Giorgione, had taken a momentous turn, and artists, having mastered the difficulty of external form, began the attempt to portray the soul. In the present case we see—or, rather, we are made to feel—more of the sitter than his face. He looks furtively out of the picture as if from beneath the burden of an uneasy self-consciousness, and whether we are attracted or repelled, we cannot remain indifferent. . . . Crowe and Cavalcaselle left the authorship of the portrait between Lotto and Cariani, and of these two I have no hesitation in pronouncing for Cariani."

¹ Ludwig, in Supp. to "Jahrbuch," 1903, p. 33.

² A fairly correct account of Cariani is given in the National Gallery Catalogue ; the fuller details in Morelli require modification in the light of modern research ; the account given in the new "Bryan" was apparently written in pre-Morellian times.

³ "Critical Studies and Fragments," p. 84 (Duckworth, 1905).



PORTRAIT OF AN UNKNOWN MAN. BY CARIANI
COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, CHATSWORTH
HANFSTÄNGL, PHOTO

One further point may be noted. At some period in their career Cariani and Basaiti must have been in contact, and no better instance of this relationship could be found than in Sir Spencer Maryon-Wilson's Basaiti portrait already described. There is here much of Cariani at first sight, and were it not for the decided quattrocentist element in the design the painting might almost be ascribed to him. This may act as a note of warning against a modern tendency to overstate Cariani, and, indeed, to find a name for every Venetian picture, especially when archæological research is establishing the identity of obscure or even unknown painters and proving them to be the authors of many works that pass under the greater names of Giorgione, Titian and Paul Veronese. Even Polidoro, Beccaruzzi and Caprioli will have to share the spoil with Francesco Vecellio, Cernotto, Zampietro Silvio, Oliverio and other resuscitated artists of lesser fame.¹

¹ On these and other Venetians deserving study see the writings of Dr. Ludwig quoted above. The existence of one, and only one, Bonifazio is now definitely proved, the so-called Bonifazio II. and III. being merely useful labels to describe school-work. Here Bryan's "Dictionary" is up-to-date. Sir Frederick Cook possesses an altar-piece known from documents to be by Francesco Vecellio, *i.e.* Titian's brother, and a signed portrait by Oliverio passed at the Hamilton Palace sale into the Dublin Gallery.

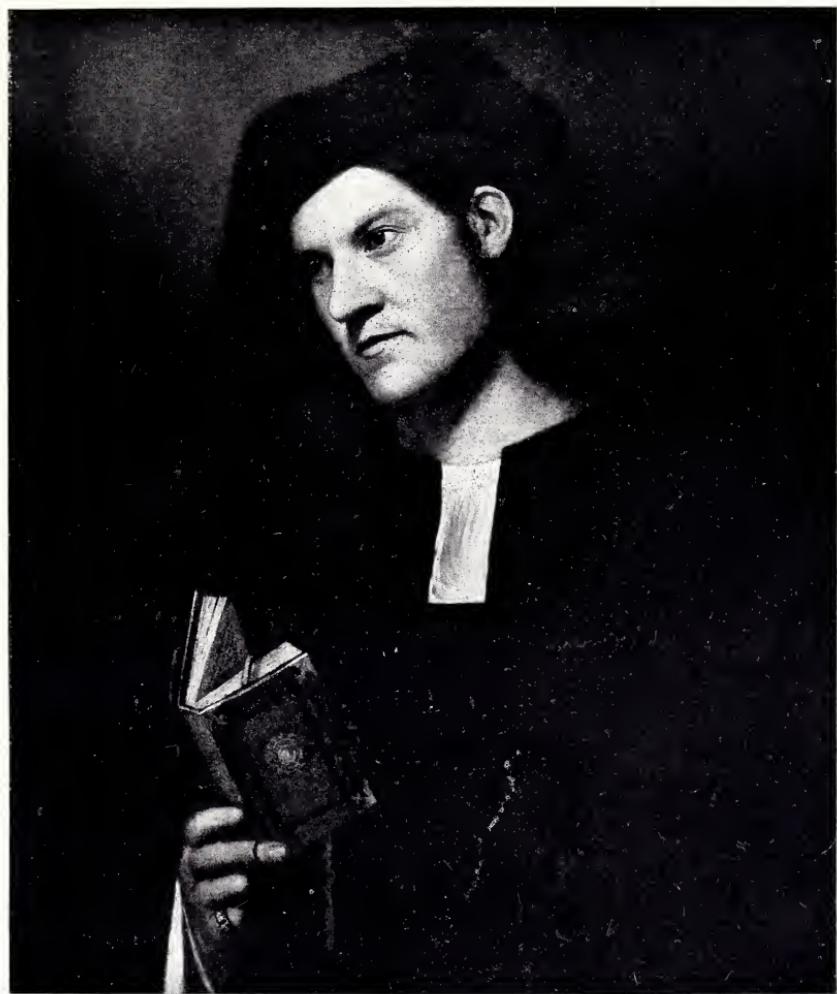
V. VENETIAN PORTRAITS AND SOME PROBLEMS¹

O N a previous occasion² I introduced to the notice of readers of the *Burlington Magazine* some Venetian portraits in English possession and took the opportunity to give in condensed form the results of the most recent archivistic research so far as Cariani, Caprioli and Basaiti were concerned. Thanks chiefly to the labours of the late Dr. Ludwig, we now know many more facts of the life of the old Venetian painters than was possible in Morelli's day, and these historical data enable us to amplify and sometimes correct the deductions arrived at by that eminent critic. Knowledge in such matters must ever be progressive; it is therefore with the view of adding fresh material to the discussion that I now submit other Venetian portraits in English possession, and bring to the notice of English students the latest results of foreign research, so far as concerns the painters of these portraits.

First of all a real problem presents itself in the so-called Giorgione portrait of Giovanni Onigo. This picture was recently lent to the National Loan Exhibition at the Grafton Galleries by Sir Frederick Cook, and is, therefore, fresh in the memory of those who visited that remarkable exhibition. Two problems are here before us: the identity of the person represented, and the name of the painter. Special research has been made recently among the archives of the Onigo family (whence this portrait lately came), with the result that, assuming the portrait really is that of a member of that illustrious family (as tradition has it), the one indicated

¹ Reprinted from the *Burlington Magazine*, March 1910.

² *Burlington Magazine*, vol. viii. p. 338, February 1906.



PORTRAIT OF GIOVANNI ONIGO. ASCRIBED
TO GIORGIONE. COLLECTION OF SIR FREDERICK
COOK, RICHMOND



PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN. BY LICINIO
FARRER COLLECTION. DIXON, PHOTO

by the date of painting and apparent age of the sitter is either Giovanni Onigo or his cousin Pileo. Nothing seems to be known of the former, but Pileo was Decano di Treviso, and Canonico d'Onore of Pope Alexander VI. There the matter must rest, the only inference to be drawn from the portrait being that the man must have been a poet or philosopher. But after all, this question is not of great moment; the artistic qualities of the work claim more serious consideration, and invite discussion as to the probable authorship. Of course tradition would have it to be Giorgione's work, as in so many other instances now proved wrong. Every one would admit its Giorgionesque character, but is it just Giorgione's own? No one has better analysed the qualities of the painting than Sir Claude Phillips, who recently wrote:¹ "The attribution is no doubt based on the general resemblance of this fine and expressive likeness to the *Antonio Broccardo* at Budapest, which is undoubtedly by Giorgione. But the Onigo portrait is surely too hard in the modelling, too hot in colour, too obvious in the definition of sentiment to be from Giorgione's brain or brush. The painter is, in our opinion, Bernardino Licinio, who in the productions of his earlier and better time is so often mistaken for greater men of his time."

An anonymous writer in the *Burlington Magazine*² also feels doubtful on the point: "Whether this most Giorgionesque work can be given to the master himself is a doubtful question. The modelling of the head appears harder than his, the technique less purely Venetian. Yet, if too cool and precise for Cariani, it seems too solid for Pordenone."

Here then are three names suggested as possible creators of this fine portrait, and of these Sir Claude

¹ *Daily Telegraph*, October 6, 1909.

² Vol. xii. p. 317, February 1908.

Phillips favours Licinio. Naturally such an opinion carries weight, and without definitely admitting this view to be final I am disposed to accept the suggestion tentatively and regard this portrait as the finest example of Licinio's Giorgionesque manner so far known to us. Closest to it in quality is a portrait in Plate the late Sir William Farrer's collection. This was ^{XLIV} exhibited some years ago by the then owner, Louisa Lady Ashburton, under Giorgione's name, but was identified with practical unanimity by the critics as a work by Licinio. The same thing has happened here as with the Onigo portrait—both have claimed a courtesy title with some show of propriety, but they cannot sustain the claim under adverse criticism. Nevertheless they remain the finest of Licinio's achievements in this direction, surpassing in interpretative and romantic qualities those many other portraits such as those in the National Gallery, at Hampton Court, at Vienna, at Madrid, at Castle Howard and elsewhere, all of which are authenticated by Licinio's signature.

And now as to Licinio.¹

Bernardino Licinio came of a family established at Poscante in the Bergamask territory, and not from Pordenone in the Friuli as hitherto supposed.² He was already settled in Venice at least as early as 1511, and, therefore, may well have known Giorgione and been directly under his influence. He seems to have been born about 1489, and to have lived till after 1556. Contemporary reference is made to him in documents of 1515, 1523, 1528, 1535, 1541 and 1549. His pictures are fairly numerous,³ and not infrequently

¹ The following facts are set out by Dr. Ludwig in the "Jahrbuch," 1903, Supplement.

² The National Gallery Catalogue repeats this old mistake.

³ Mr. Berenson gives a list of about fifty. ("Venetian Painters," third edition.)



PORTRAIT OF AN UNKNOWN MAN. VENETIAN
SCHOOL. CARLTON GALLERIES, PALL MALL



PORTRAIT OF AN UNKNOWN MAN
BY LOTTO. COLLECTION OF SIR J. C.
ROBINSON, SWANAGE

catalogued under the name of Pordenone, with whom he may have come in contact, and whose robust style may well have influenced him. The National Gallery portrait is signed and dated 1528, the Hampton Court family group 1524, Lord Crawford has a portrait of 1535, and other fine examples belong to Lord Carlisle, Lord Kinnaird and the Duke of Northumberland. But the earliest in date and the best are the two here reproduced.

The next portrait here illustrated offers a new Plate
puzzle. Intensely Giorgionesque in feeling and in outward presentation, its whole character stamps it as belonging to the Bellini-Basaiti-Catena group which is so tantalisingly elusive to distinguish. Is it a late work of a Bellinesque reflecting the Giorgione mood, caught from some such masterpiece as the *Antonio Broccardo* at Budapest, or is it an early work of some Cariani-Lotto type? I confess I cannot settle the question, and a study of the original is complicated by the far from perfect state of the actual painting. A landscape can be seen through an opening to the left. This portrait is at present at the Carlton Galleries, Pall Mall Place, to the owners of which I am indebted for the photograph.

An unpublished portrait by Lotto may well find place here; not that it sheds any fresh light on a subject which in recent years has had an undue amount of appreciation lavished on it by several eminent critics, but because of the amusing conundrum offered by the devices contained in the picture. What in the world do these odd emblems signify? for that they mean something is certain, and that the man's action is also significant cannot be questioned. Can this be a self portrait of the painter?—or is it the *Sick Man* of the Doria Palace once more posing as a living problem? Sir Charles Robinson, the

owner, interprets the devices thus (beginning from the left) :

- (1) A half-blown bladder—poverty.
- (2) A pearl and sapphire—wealth.
- (3) An ox-head—labour.
- (4) An armillary sphere—worldly renown.
- (5) Crossed palm branch—fame.
- (6) A full-blown bladder—empty fame.

The pendant garland is of green laurel leaves.

The man is pointing up at these emblems, as if to say his experience of life had ranged from poverty to empty fame, passing through stages of wealth, labour and renown. All this is, of course, pure conjecture ; some reader good at acrostics may care to suggest a better clue.

The painting itself is somewhat rubbed, but unquestionably the work of Lorenzo Lotto, dating from about 1535.

Plate XLVII Finally we come to another puzzling picture, but so fine in conception and feeling, if not in condition, as to warrant our studying it attentively, and trying to fathom its origin. This sort of inquiry is a sheer waste of time where the quality of a picture is below a certain level, but no one will here deny the essential distinction and dignified mien of this arresting head, and the art with which the painter has brought out the pronounced traits of an unpleasant character. The fact that we dislike the man at a glance is a testimonial to the power of the artist—we cannot remain indifferent as so often in the presence of third-rate work. Of course, Giorgione's name is again the tradition, and again it is obvious that Giorgione's mode of treatment underlies the presentation, but *not* the actual painting, which is that of a full-blooded Venetian of later date than 1510, the year when Giorgione died. To my mind, we have here another of those magnificent



PORTRAIT OF A MAN. PROBABLY BY
PALMA VECCHIO. MARQUESS OF BRISTOL'S
COLLECTION. GRAY, PHOTO

portraits by Palma Vecchio which tradition and some modern criticism have assigned to Giorgione; and having been myself mistaken in regard to two such portraits, viz. the so-called *Poet* in the National Gallery, and the Querini portrait in Venice, I venture to restore all three to their rightful owner, Palma Vecchio, and to add yet another to the group—equally fine—belonging to the Duke of Alba, in Madrid. Such works as these, and the *Lady with the Lute* at Alnwick, place Palma almost on the highest level of achievement ever reached in Venice.

Any authentic biography of Palma Vecchio must be based upon Dr. Ludwig's researches,¹ from which it appears that he came of the family of the Nigretti in the Bergamask country, and was born at Serinalta. He signs himself as Nigretti in a document dated March 8, 1510, and as Jacomo Palma in a document dated January 8, 1513. If Vasari is correct in saying he died at the age of forty-eight, he must have been born in 1480, for the exact date of his death is known, viz. July 30, 1528. He was certainly in Venice by 1510, and had probably worked earlier in the studio of Giovanni Bellini, thus becoming associated with Giorgione and Titian in their youth. An existing inventory made at his death records forty-four pictures in his studio, nineteen of which remained unfinished. Some of these can be identified to-day, and some appear to have been completed by Bonifazio, who may have been Palma's chief pupil.² It is well to note that a good many male portraits are cited in this inventory. Where are they to-day? Possibly Lord Bristol's is one, but the very vague description in the list does not enable us to identify it with certainty.

¹ See "Jahrbuch," 1901, iii. 184.

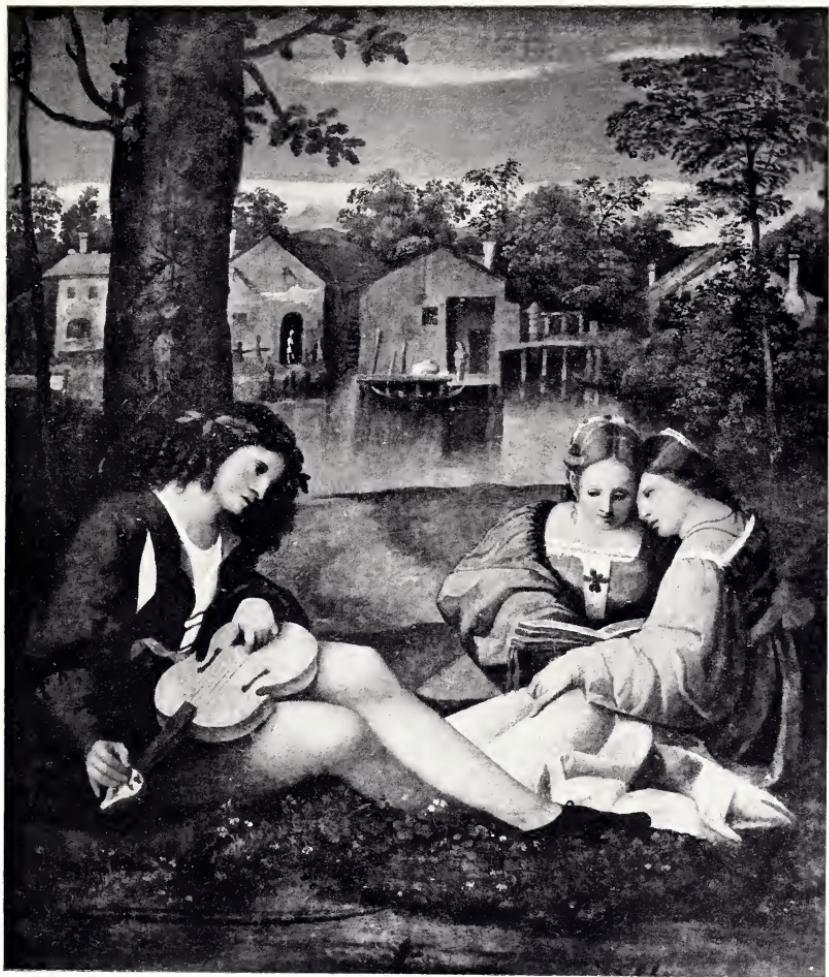
² The fullest biography of Palma is given by Max von Boehn in "Künstler-Monographien," No. 94, 1908.

Plate
XLVIII

Sir Claude Phillips has lately¹ revived the old attribution to Palma given to the *Rustic Concert* (at Lansdowne House, and lately at the Grafton Gallery), which passes as a "Giorgione." I think he is probably right, and that this exquisite idyll is really an early work of Palma. It may be pointed out that the seated figure of the man is derived from Titian's *Three Ages* (at Bridgewater House) and proves a direct relation between the two young painters. This practice is continued into later life, for in the superb *Santa Conversazione*, lately added to the Accademia in Venice, Palma gives us an almost literal copy of the St. Agnes in Titian's *Holy Family*, No. 1579 of the Louvre.² Of his direct indebtedness to Giorgione an excellent instance occurs in the Capitol *Christ and the Adulteress*, where the accuser is taken straight from the Jew in Giorgione's *Christ bearing the Cross* in the Church of St. Rocco in Venice. These several examples of Palma's connection with Titian and Giorgione warrant us in believing his art and theirs was largely interdependent, and fully account for the fact that some of Palma's portraits still pass under Giorgione's name.

¹ "Daily Telegraph," October 6, 1909.

² This has already been pointed out by Dr. Frizzoni ("Rassegna d'Arte," 1906, p. 120).



"THE CONCERT." PROBABLY BY PALMA
VECCHIO. MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE'S COLLEC-
TION. GRAY, PHOTO

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